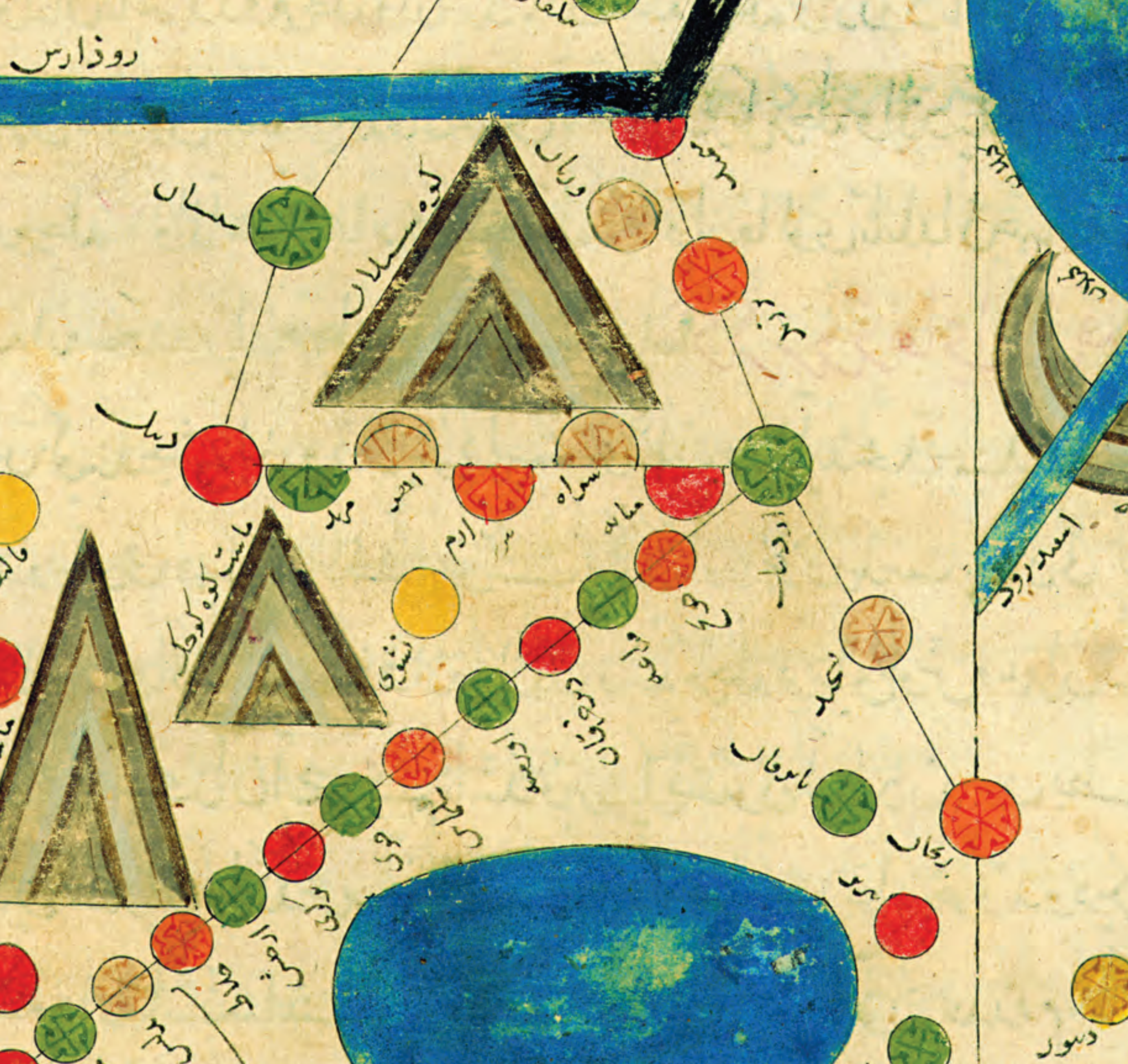


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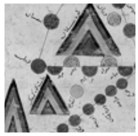
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The reader should not be surprised to note that for this volume I have borrowed a few pages of material from my previous work *The Invention of History: Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Showcasing of Imagination* (2009, revised and reprinted in 2010).

Rouben Galichian
London, 2012

Notes

1. Most of the territory of today's Republic of Azerbaijan until the tenth to twelfth centuries was named Albania—in Arabic, Arran or Aran. This has no relationship to the European country of Albania, situated on the Adriatic coast near Greece. In this work whenever the name Albania is mentioned, it refers to Caucasian Albania.
2. In 1918 the name Azerbaijan was given to a country established on the north bank of the River Arax, borrowing the name from the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, which has existed on the south bank of the Arax since the beginning of our era. This anomaly has given rise to a double meaning for the same name. In this book the name of the newly established country is referred to as the Republic of Azerbaijan, or in same cases simply Azerbaijan, while the Iranian province is called Iranian Azerbaijan. To complicate matters further, Iranian Azerbaijan is now divided into three provinces: Western Azerbaijan, Eastern Azerbaijan and Ardabil.
3. The indigenous peoples of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan spoke the Iranian language Azari, and in this book it is called as such. The language spoken in the same provinces today as well as that spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan across the river, is called Turkish, its original name, and also referred to as Azerbaijani-Turkish.

Introduction

It is widely acknowledged that history is often manipulated and rewritten by most nations. In extreme cases, it becomes a powerful tool for territorial gain and appropriation or even denial of another's culture and identity. The record of the Republic of Turkey, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany are prominent recent examples, and it is the inspiration of the former two in particular that came together in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

As the only Soviet republic not to be created from an established ethnic or linguistic group, in order to justify its suddenly bestowed nationhood, the country rapidly acquired the art of rewriting history, indoctrinating its native population and manipulating ethnic conflict. This also helped to further its expansionist ambitions as learned directly from those driving Pan-Turkism and the Soviet Union, acknowledged masters of the appropriation and falsification of historical fact. Azerbaijan's targeting of its neighbours Armenia and Iran, while ignoring Georgia, Russia and Turkey, makes this a unique case, particularly after passing into the post-Soviet period. This now has gathered momentum and threatens to transcend local disputes into direct destabilisation of a fragile regional status quo and the continued stagnation of social and economic progress in the South Caucasus. Little of this seems to affect the standing of the Republic of Azerbaijan itself, or at least those few of its citizens who are fortunate enough to be bolstered by the oil and gas industry, safely positioned on the eastern reaches of the Caspian coast, far from any troublesome border. This book, therefore, examines the roots and effects of Azerbaijan's rewriting of history and why it continues to do so, focusing on the case of Armenia and Iran.

In 1918 a new country by the name of Azerbaijan was born in the territory north of the Arax River, replicating the name of the neighbouring Iranian province of Azerbaijan. Looking back at the first decades of the twentieth century, those studying the history of the Caucasus and Asia Minor cannot escape the fact that since its birth the country's authorities have both openly and covertly adopted an antagonistic political stance against its neighbours Armenia and Iran, a policy which has also applied to many ethnic groups living in its territory.

The official moves taken in this respect combine to prove that the overall strategy adopted by the Republic of Azerbaijan is to create a Turkic identity for its entire population, constituting the indigenous people of the territory, and that the Armenians are newcomers to the South Caucasus. They also claim that all cultural monuments existing in the region of Armenia, Karabagh and Azerbaijan belonged to the ancient nation of Caucasian Albanians, who are claimed as ancestors of modern Azerbaijanis. As for the Iranian province, they have renamed it with the invented term Southern Azerbaijan, in the process establishing a case for claiming it as part of their own lands.

This strategy and its ensuing actions possibly find their roots in the nationalistic and extremist policies undertaken during the first two decades of the twentieth century by the Ottoman Empire and continued by its successor the Republic of Turkey, which denied the presence of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Turkey, the ancestral homeland of ethnic Armenians. To this end, many old and medieval Armenian historical and cultural monuments throughout Turkey were systematically destroyed and razed to the ground, history books were rewritten, and the mention of the name of Armenians became a political crime. The policy of denial in Turkey was official until very recent times, but has now been toned down, with even a few Armenian monuments being now renovated, mainly to achieve some sort of political objective.

To a lesser extent a similar attitude has also been seen in the neighbouring Republic of Georgia, where a number of Armenian churches have been 'remodelled' and appropriated by the Georgian Church, while some Armenian churches in north-east Turkey and north Armenia, near the borders with Georgia, are claimed to be of Georgian origin.[1] Ironically, other Georgian churches in Turkey have been claimed to be Kipchak Turkish.

It is interesting to note that of the four countries neighbouring Armenia it is only Iran that has paid positive attention to the Armenian cultural monuments still standing on its territory. Realising their importance as a representation of the cultural heritage of peoples who once lived, and continue to do so, within its territory, the Iranian government annually spends large sums for the reconstruction, renovation and maintenance of Armenian monasteries, chapels and churches, the majority of which are to be found in the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan, some of which are now being used as pilgrimage sites for the local Muslim populations.

1 See Tiran Marutyan, *Haykakan chartarapetutyan akunknerum [The Sources of Armenian Architecture]* (Yerevan: 2003) (in Armenian).

The Azerbaijani strategy became widely apparent during the second half of the twentieth century and has continued into the twenty-first without pause. Hesitantly assembled as a national agenda in the 1930s and boosted into every corner of society from the 1960s onwards, the construction of the desired national identity has continued in earnest. At the vanguard were the official anti-Armenian and anti-Iran conjectures and hypotheses that are still formed in the arena of Azerbaijan's universities and academies, and then disseminated through textbooks, journals, newspapers, websites and government missives. The mere existence of the body of hundreds of anti-Armenian books and articles bears witness to a bizarre (yet clearly dangerous) heritage where history has been blatantly rewritten and invented to reach beyond a nation's borders. Unsurprisingly, these actions in Soviet times did not prevent the communist leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia from standing shoulder to shoulder and dutifully hailing each other as 'brotherly republics' according to the 'proletarian internationalism' that ironically defined the USSR's complex internal politics.

After World War II, the expansionist policies of the Azerbaijanis as directed by their Soviet masters became aggressively evident through the attempted annexation of the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan, echoing similar moves made across the border a few decades before after the birth of the USSR. Although unsuccessful on both occasions, this policy against Iranian sovereignty continues to be pursued publicly and otherwise, with foreign powers still directing Azerbaijan from the wings.

The case of the Armenian-populated region of Nagorno-Karabagh (Artsakh in Armenian) is a good example of Azerbaijan's policies. In 1923, Stalin made the decision to place this territory under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in spite of (or, more likely, because of) the fact that the area was populated mainly by Armenians. The region was given the status of Autonomous Region and came fully under Azerbaijani control, with its budget allocated by Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani authorities applied steady pressure in order to force the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabagh to leave, using tactics such as repressing their language and culture, and blocking their education rights and economic progress. The situation worsened to such an extent that tens of thousands of the region's inhabitants petitioned the Soviet authorities in 1963, 1965, 1966 and 1977 for fair treatment and self-determination.

During the 1980s of Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika, hopes for a more sympathetic hearing saw the petitions revived, only to provoke a backlash that culminated further east in the unprovoked pogrom of February 1988

unleashed in the industrial city of Sumgait, near Baku. Organised by the Azerbaijani authorities, scores of Armenians were killed there, with events subsequently culminating in the bombardment with Soviet Grad missiles of the Nagorno-Karabagh capital Stepanakert by the Azerbaijani army as their security forces also carried out the forced evacuation of villages in the north of the region. The ensuing war ended with Armenian armed forces driving the Azerbaijanis out of most of the territory of Nagorno-Karabagh.

The Azerbaijani authorities have since devoted their huge resources towards creating the case that the Armenians are to blame for unilaterally starting the war—and therefore too for the many thousands of internally displaced persons currently found in Azerbaijan. These unfortunates could so easily be settled using only a tiny fraction of the nation's ever-increasing oil revenues, but the authorities choose not to house them, preferring instead to use their plight to keep the official anti-Armenian rhetoric alive.

Admittedly the relationship has not been helped by past actions of Diaspora Armenian extremist groups directed against Turkey, which have only helped to fuel the anti-Armenian stance of Azerbaijan, which declares its people to be brothers of the Turks. These and similar incidents provided the Azerbaijanis with the pretext and ammunition to present these minority acts as 'nationalistic' and 'actions against human rights'. A few extremist Armenian specialists have also had their share in the creation of this unfriendly atmosphere by promoting exaggerated views regarding the national origins and ancient political borders of Armenia, but their numbers are very few.[2]

The Armenian response to the Azerbaijani rewritings of history and culture over the twentieth century was addressed mainly by academics directly to their fellow academics since most lived within the same nation, i.e. the Soviet Union. However, during the Soviet period, these appeared mainly in the Armenian or Russian-language press of the time published chiefly in the Soviet Republic of Armenia and which, for obvious reasons, was not easily accessible to relevant international specialists or, pertinently, to the general public of the rest of the world.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of its republics, the Republic of Azerbaijan, with the assistance of western oil

2 It must be noted that these extremist books are few and far between, produced and published by the individuals without official or scholarly support. They generally do not infringe directly on other people's rights, but mainly are megalomanic fantasies. Distribution of some of their works has, in the past, been actively discouraged by the authorities in Armenia.

companies rapidly developed its oil and gas industry to become a significant player in the international market. The subsequent flood of revenue into the national coffers has provided near limitless means to promote its anti-Armenian and anti-Iranian campaign on a scale far more extensive than had been hitherto conceived.

Since the mid 1990s the Azerbaijani ministries and the Academy of Sciences have embarked on a rigorous publication schedule, endorsed through top government channels, involving an ever-widening range of books, articles and magazines in English, French, German, Arabic and many other languages and printed on expensive glossy paper. They are distributed gratis wherever possible via Azerbaijani embassies and cultural bodies to think-tanks, research centres, universities and libraries in both east and the west, as well as at major book fairs.

Aside from print and internet publications, as part of their agenda to reach audiences worldwide the Azerbaijani authorities have also started broadcasting radio and TV programmes aimed at the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan in order to desseminate the party line both on secession and provoking anti-Armenian sentiments in the region. Simultaneously with specially organised public and media events, an active campaign of disinformation has also been waged, augmented by the hacking of internet sites considered unsympathetic. European apologists have also been recruited to promote and support the Azerbaijani position. Examples include the German Johannes Rau, who published a book on the history of the conflict of Nagorno-Karabagh, in German, English and Arabic,[3] and the Austrian documentary-maker and writer Erich Feigl (1931-1997), whose efforts were recognised in 2006 by the award of the Azerbaijani Medal for Progress.[4]

Such an outpouring of material may not distract a specialist's scrutiny for

3 See Johannes Rau, *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan* (Berlin: 2008). This is a typical pro-Azerbaijani example of rewritten history where, for example, it begins with the claim that during the first century CE Karabakh was part of Albania, while disregarding the fact that at the time Albania was located north of the River Kura. The book also includes 16 Azerbaijani sketch maps of 'Historical Azerbaijan' covering a territory from Hamadan and Qazvin in Iran, to Derbend and Yerevan.

4 See Eric Feigl, *Armenian Mythomania* (Vienna: 2006). This is another book based on inverted facts, where examples include the Armenian Genocide presented as the 'Armenian Myth' (p. 15), an image of the mounds of ruins left in the old city of Van is described as a 'View of the Urartian city of Van, destroyed by the Armenians' (p. 21), while American ambassador to Turkey Henry Morgenthau, German humanist Johannes Lepsius and Austrian writer Franz Werfel are described as a 'gang of forgers' (pp. 97-103).

more than a moment, but let us consider their effect on the average young student, whose interest may take him or her to bookshelves stacked with rewritten and intentionally subjective works of history. Denied other works with which to compare, particularly none presenting the body of historical facts, can anyone blame these youngsters from being convinced into believing that the 'truth' is the one presented there? Indeed, there is a fundamental lack of serious literature published in English or other European languages (also in Arabic, Persian, etc) regarding the claims made in Azerbaijani literature.

In addition to detailing the officially-sponsored invention of modern Azerbaijani national identity, this book also looks at the various methodologies employed by Azerbaijani historians and geographers for their falsification of the documented pasts of Armenia and Iranian Azerbaijan. A considerable part is dedicated to the analysis of ancient and medieval maps and cartographic publications related to the area south of the Caucasus.

This process of factual distortion and selective editing or elimination essentially means that any document so produced is little more than politically motivated propaganda. In the case of the Republic of Azerbaijan, there are many constituent (and often contradictory) elements in support of this, including:

- Distortion of the history of neighbouring peoples and nations, including their cultural heritage.
- Presenting the Iranian provinces of Eastern Azerbaijan, Western Azerbaijan, and Ardabil (historically a single province) and the Republic of Azerbaijan as a unified people and nation by means of inventing the terminology Northern Azerbaijan and Southern Azerbaijan and presenting these terms as historically accepted toponyms.
- Along the same principles, presenting the territory of modern-day Armenia as Western Azerbaijan.
- Trying to convince other governments and international organizations that Caucasian Albania and Azerbaijan are two historical names for the same country, making the peoples of the Republic of Azerbaijan direct descendants of the Caucasian Albanian peoples.
- Making the Turkish language, imported into the region by the Turkic invaders, the indigenous language of the Azerbaijani people since prehistorical times.
- Presenting Armenians as newcomers to the region of South Caucasus and the Azerbaijani people as indigenous to the area.

- Appropriation of all historical monuments in the general territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabagh, Nakhichevan as well as Armenia as forming the heritage of 'Albano-Azerbaijani' culture.

This analysis draws on the facts as transmitted by historians and geographers taken from Classical Graeco-Roman, European, Islamic, Caucasian (including Armenian) and Azerbaijani sources, including:

- World maps discussed by the Classical authors and reconstructed by specialists such as Konrad Miller and Charles Muller.
- Ptolemy's geographical work with relevant maps and tables.
- Early Christian maps by Jerome, Orosius, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Beatus of Liebana, Gervase of Tilbury, Bar Hebraeus, Ranulf Higden, amongst others.
- From Islamic cartography, the maps of Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn Hawqal, al-Istakhri, al-Muqaddasi, al-Mas'udi, al-Idrisi, al-Qazvini, Mostowfi, Hafiz Abru and so on have been discussed and analysed.
- From the works of the late medieval to nineteenth-century cartographers, maps and atlases have been chosen that are representative of the vast body of material that has come down to us. These include the works of such major figures as De la Rue, Sanson, Blaeu, Du Val, Kohler, Delisle, Homann, Faden, Malte-Brun and Spruner.

During the 1930s, the travelogues of key European travellers were in part translated into Armenian by Hovhannes Hakobian, whose six-volume project was cut short after the publication of only two volumes because of his exile ordered by the Soviet authorities. Much later, from 1961 a new series entitled *Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians* appeared, the 16th volume of which was published in 2005. The series has been taken as a guide but when there has been a need for quoting from or refering to these sources the originals have been used.

Sources for ethnolinguistic issues include the works of Minorsky, Le Strange, Barthold, as well as those of Iranian specialists such as Kasravi, Karang and Bayat. Of particular interest are the works of Enayatollah Reza concerning his extensive research on the language, religion, ethnos and history of Arran and Azerbaijan. Regrettably, the works of these Iranian specialists are yet to be published in English.

The originals of the works of Iranian and Arab historians and geographers

regarding the Iranian province(s) of Azerbaijan and the problems created by the invention of the terms of Northern and Southern Azerbaijan have proved a great resource of information. Where relevant, articles, books and published presentations of various conferences and other events of recent years have also been included for discussion, and, within the possibilities of their availability, most Azerbaijani historical and geographical literature produced during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been referred to and their claims analysed.

Today's campaign in the Republic of Azerbaijan began in earnest during the Soviet 1960s. Since then historians such as Zia Buniatov, Farida Mamedova and Rashid Geyushev have taken the lead in this state-sponsored rewriting of history. More often than not, in order to justify their claims, these experts have referred to exactly the same Turkish, Persian, Azerbaijani, Arab and European primary source materials which present a wholly opposite history to the rest of the world. Drawing together these materials here, some of which appears in translation for the first time, it is hoped that this work will make its contribution to restoring an understanding of the true heritage and territorial legacy of the nations of the South Caucasus.

*

1 The roots of fabrication and invention

'Writing history is as important as making history'
—Kemal Ataturk

Formation of a new country north of the Arax

In 1918 in the region south of the Caucasus and north of the River Arax three new countries were founded. Of these, two had at least a millennium of history—Armenia and Georgia—but the third was a newly formed country. Its adopted name 'Azerbaijan' had never in the past been used for the territory occupied by the new nation, being taken instead from the province situated just south of the river, in the neighbouring country of Iran.

Anthony Smith of London University, a sociologist and specialist in nationalism, writes in his book *Ethnic Origins of Nations*:

> We may therefore usefully distinguish between those 'ethnic' with full and well-preserved pasts and those whose pasts are either lacking or hidden from view by subsequent accretions. In the first case, it is more a case of selective memory 'rediscovering' the past, in the second, a more conjectural 'reconstruction' of the past from such motifs and myths as can be unearthed.[1]

Historian Shireen Hunter of Washington's Georgetown University, a specialist on the nations of the former USSR and a member of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, is the author of many articles and books on the subject above. In one of her studies she states the following:

> A myth about the origins and history of Azerbaijan was developed during the Soviet era and has been perfected in recent years by the Azerbaijani

1 Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: 1987), 178.

nationalists. Yet this mythological view of Azerbaijan's origins has little basis in history. Moreover, its various components are internally inconsistent.[2]

The main claims made for this myth are as follows:

1. The Azerbaijani state has almost 5,000 years of continuous history in the present region.[3]
2. Azerbaijan as an independent state has existed for more than 2,000 years.[4]
3. The Turkification of Azerbaijan began from the early days of our era.
4. Various empires such as Iran, the Arab Caliphate and Russia have colonized Azerbaijan, neutralising its Turkic culture, which is the reason that the gems of Azerbaijani literature were written in Persian.
5. A joint conspiracy by Russia and Persia divided the country into Southern and Northern Azerbaijans.
6. In 1918, the establishment of the Republic of Azerbaijan was the rebirth of the historical land of Azerbaijan, which was the first democratic republic in the East.

Historians and specialists such as N. Adontz, I. Diakonov, S. Yeremian, R. Ishkhanian and others still debate about the distant beginnings of the state of Armenia, but they all share agreement that it goes back at least three millennia. The same question however regarding the Republic of Azerbaijan and its ancient statehood as well as the present population of Azerbaijanis north of the River Arax is another matter. This country, as a historical and geographical entity, was invented and established in 1918. Furthermore, the population of the same newly established country did not call themselves Azerbaijani until 1936, a designation forced upon them as a result of further political pressures.

When the new political entity was established north of the Arax, in the

2 Shireen T. Hunter, *The Trans-Caucasus in Transition. Nation-building and Conflict* (Washington DC: 1994), 59.

3 See Yaqub Mahmudov, *Azerbaidjantsy (Vzglyad na etnopolicheskuyu istoriyu) [The Azerbaijanis (A Glance at Ethnopolitical History)]* (Baku: 2009), 4-10. For further details, see also Sergei Rumyantsev, 'Natsionalizm i konstruirovanie kart 'instoricheskikh territorij': Obuchenie natsionalnym istoriyam v stranakh Yujhnogo Kavkaza' ['Nationalism and the Construction of Maps of "Historical Territories": The Teaching of National History in the Countries of the Southern Caucasus'], *Ab Imperio*, 2010/4, 419.

4 See Tale Heydarov and Taleh Bagiyev, ed., *Azerbaijan: 100 Questions Answered* (Baku: 2008), 21.

Eastern Caucasus, calling itself the Republic of Azerbaijan, all the activists and intelligentsia of the Iranian historical province of Azerbaijan, south of the river (the old Atropatene), condemned this choice but their protests remained unheeded. After two years, the same three Caucasian republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia fell under Bolshevik rule and eventually became republics within the Soviet Union, de facto losing their independence while keeping the names of their short-lived independent states. The name of Azerbaijan, although barely two years old, was maintained since it suited the newly established communist authorities, who could use it in the future as a political lever to expand their influence and rule over the similarly named province in Iran, with the final aim of joining this province with the communist controlled state via the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan.

In the 1930s, the official naming of the population of this newly established country as 'Azerbaijanis' was one more step towards achieving the same aim, followed by the necessary rewriting and invention of the history of the newly-named people and their nation. However, activity related to the confirmation and the establishment of the Republic of Azerbaijan as an ancient land and people began in real earnest during the 1960s, thanks to the active cooperation and encouragement of Soviet Azerbaijan's scholars. Through purportedly 'scientific' and 'historical' yet openly anti-Armenian and anti Iranian-Azerbaijani articles and books, these specialists 'discovered' new historical facts and sources regarding their origins and claims on the ownership of all the cultural monuments found in their own territory as well as those in neighbouring countries.

The territory of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan includes the lands of historical Albania, which lay in the triangle formed by the course of the River Kura (Cyrus), the western shores of the Caspian Sea and the mountains of the Greater Caucasus Range. Here, in early and medieval times, lived a people whom Strabo called the Albanian tribes. The western and southern neighbours of the Caucasian Albania at the time were the three provinces of Siunik, Utik and Artsakh (Karabagh) of Greater Armenia.

The tribes of Albania accepted Christianity during the middle of the fourth century, but a century later the area was occupied by Zoroastrian Sassanid Iran. With the arrival of the Arab conquests throughout the region, the majority of the Albanian tribes converted to Islam during the seventh and eighth centuries while the Armenian population of the same region remained Christian. The ninth century saw the first waves of invasions by Turkic tribes from Central Asia, followed by the Seljuks and the Mongols, who on their arrival in the North and South Caucasus gradually established a variety of

khanates and principalities. By the fifteenth century, the majority of this region had become part of the Iranian Empire, intermittently occupied by the Ottoman Turks. Over time, Muslim khans and begs became the local overlords, paying their dues to whoever their current masters happened to be, while the powerful Armenian landlords of Artsakh, known as 'meliks', by virtue of living in a remote and inaccessible mountainous region were able to keep their relative independence.[5]

After the eleventh and twelfth centuries the terms Albania as a country or Albanian as a nation or group of tribes disappears from both Christian and Islamic historical and cartographic literature.[6] The sole exception is its mention in Armenian historiography, where it generally refers to the northern parts of Artsakh and Utik, since during Sassanid rule these two regions together with Albania constitute one of their administrative districts.

According to the Treaty of Gulistan of 1813, the regions of Shirvan, Shaki, Derbend, Karabagh and a number of other khanates plus parts of the present-day region of Siunik (the cities of Sisian, Goris and Kapan) were handed over to Russia. With a second treaty, that of Turkmanchay in 1828, the Khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan were also ceded to Russia, thus ending more than 300 years of Persian rule in the region.

In 1813, the Russian authorities decided to place all the newly gained areas in one administrative zone or province, that of Elizavetpol (present-day Ganja, the Armenian Gandzak). Today, the Azerbaijani authorities base their claims on this 1813 administrative division created by Russia, reasoning that since the region of Elizavetpol/Ganja is Azerbaijani territory, inherited by Soviet Azerbaijan, and because the khanates of Karabagh and Siunik at the time were part of the province of Elizavetpol, the whole territory including Karabagh and Siunik therefore rightfully belongs to Azerbaijan. If one accepts this reasoning, it follows that because the regions of Yerevan and Nakhichevan were ceded to Russia only in 1828 and have never had any connection with the previously ceded Elizavetpol/Ganja region, Azerbaijan has no reason to lay claim to either of them. But even after independence and the collapse in 1991 of the Russian Empire's successor, the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan managed to keep Karabagh under its overall control, laying full claim to the Soviet-created Autonomous Republic as being an inseparable part of the Republic of Azerbaijan.[7]

5 For further details of the history of the region refer to George Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule* 1795-1828 (Costa Mesa: 1992), 1-29.
6 See *The Cambridge History of Iran*, *Vol. 4* (Cambridge: 1975).
7 For details of the events leading to the handover of Nakhichevan and Artsakh to

In volume 1 of the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, published in 1890, Azerbaijan is described as follows:

> Azerbaijan, or Adrbejan (in the old Pahlavi Azari language 'land of fire, Atropatene', or in Armenian 'Atrpatakan') is Iran's richest and most productive north-western province. Azerbaijan borders in the south with Iranian Kurdistan (province of Erdilan) and Iraq-Ajami (Media), and Turkish Kurdistan and Armenia in the west. In the north, across the River Arax its borders are Russian Armenia and the Southern Caucasus. The Iranian province of Gilan, on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea is to its east. ... The area of the territory of Azerbaijan is 104,840 square kilometres. ... During the seventeenth century the Ottoman Turks caused great destruction in Azerbaijan, whose principal town is the city of Ardabil, the seat of the Iranian regent (such as Abbas-Mirza), and which was one of Iran's most important provinces.[8]

In the same volume, Albania is described as follows:

> Albania. The ancients thus called the eastern region of the land located south of the Caucasus Range, situated between the Black and Caspian Seas, north of Armenia (from which it is separated by the River Cyrus or Kura). The inhabitants of these lands, which correspond to the regions of present-day Shirvan and Daghestan, were described as simple and just people, at the same time being experts in archers and riders. ... Their role in history has been minimal, which was mainly fighting alongside the Armenians against Pompey the Roman (65 BCE), when their country, which was a union of twelve tribes led by a hereditary king, was temporarily obliged to accept Roman suzerainty.[9]

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* offers the following description:

> Azerbaijan (also spelt Aderbijan; the Azerabadegan of medieval writers the Atisporakan and Atropatene of the ancients), the north-western, and most important province of Persia. It is separated from Russian territory on

Azerbaijan during 1920-21 see Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History. Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination*, 2nd revised edition (London-Yerevan: 2010), 29-31.

8 *Entsiklopedicheskij slovar, Tom 1 [Encydopaedic Dictionary, Volume 1]*, ed. I. E. Andreyev et al (Saint Petersburg: 1890), 212-213.

9 Ibid., 359.

> the N. by the River Aras (Araxes), while it has the Caspian Sea, Gilan and Khamseh (Zenjin) on the E., Kurdistan on the S., and Asiatic Turkey on the W. Its area is estimated at 32,000 sq. m.; its population at 1 1/2 to 2 millions, comprising various races, such as Persians, Turks, Kurds, Syrians, Armenians &c.[10]

Both these major sources of reference, even though emanating from diverse backgrounds and cultures, have the same to say for the location of the ancient country of Azerbaijan. From the above descriptions it can be clearly understood that at least until the year 1911 there was no country named Azerbaijan north of the Arax, as the Iranians already know. Yet the historians of the present Republic of Azerbaijan insist that Azerbaijan, including the so-called 'Northern Azerbaijan' north of the Arax, has existed no less than 5,000 years. It is a term about whose historical use the authoritative Turkish *Islam Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopaedia of Islam)*, published in Istanbul, is clearly wary:

> The name Azerbaijan has been used referring to the Iranian north-western provinces and on rare occasions also referring to Arran and Shirvan. Since May 28, 1918 the Caucasian state of Azerbaijan has officially been named Azerbaijan.[11]

Indeed, if we look at the English version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published in 1913 and the 'New Edition' published in 1960, it can be noted that the Turkish translated version adds the additional clause 'and on rare occasions also referring to Arran and Shirvan', absent from the other editions of the encyclopaedia.[12]

In the maps reproduced in the Appendix, selected from Graeco-Roman, European and Islamic sources (figs 8 through 38), it is clear how all these cartographers understood and showed the area located south of the Caucasus Range. These maps, none of which have Armenian provenance, are analysed in Chapter Five, with each reproduction in the Appendix accompanied by a basic description.

As mentioned above, during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Albanian races and Albania itself disappeared from all maps. Almost

10 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in 29 volumes, 11th edition (Cambridge: 1911).
11 *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: 1942), vol. 12, 91.
12 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden & London: 1913), vol. 12, 91; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden & London: 1960), vol. 1, 188-191.

one millennium later, the Muslim Socialist Democratic Musavat ('Equality') Party was formed in Baku in the year 1911, its main aim being the establishment of a purely Turkic-speaking country in the South Caucasus, somehow 'eliminating' the Christian population that separated the two Turkic worlds in Asia Minor and the East. Semseddin Sami, one of the Ottoman founders of Pan-Turkism, had already made the following declaration: 'The term "Turk" is an appellation for an important nation extending from the shores of the Adriatic Sea to the frontiers of China and the inner parts of Siberia.'[13] This ideology was also adopted in the Ottoman Empire by the Committee of Union and Progress movement (linked to the Young Turks).[14]

Clearly Christian Armenia did not fit into the scheme and was a thorn to be removed. In 1917, the Muslim Socialist Democrats merged with the Turkish Federalist Party and adopted the abbreviated name Musavat, led by the Pan-Turkist Mammad Amin Rasulzade.[15] It was mainly through his efforts that the new country established in May 1918 was named 'Azerbaijan'.[16]

When the three countries south of the Caucasus declared their independence in 1918, the easternmost country populated mainly by Turks and Tatars was to be named the 'Eastern and Southern Trans-Caucasian Republic', but Musavat managed to have this decision rescinded and instead changed the country's name to the 'Republic of Azerbaijan'.[17] Thus, the name that for centuries had belonged to the north-western Iranian province situated across the border, south of the Arax River, was given to the country born on 1918, north of the common border.[18] With this renaming, the local Muslim population of the region, who until then were called with then commonly used names of either 'Turks', 'Tatars' or simply 'Muslims', overnight became 'Azerbaijanis'.[19]

The sudden name adoption shocked many within the political and intellectual circles of Iranian Azerbaijan, and the local national activists, among them Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani, Ismail Amirkhizi and Ahmad Kasravi, rebelled

13 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (London: 1995), 31.
14 Ibid., 37.
15 Ibid., 55.
16 Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia (1917-1921)* (New York: 1951), 20-22. See also Ahmad Moghaddam, *Where is the Real Azerbaijan?* (Bonn: 2008), 37-43 (in Persian).
17 V. V. Barthold, *Raboty po Istorii Kavkaza i Vostochnoj Yevropy [Articles on the History of the Caucasus and Eastern Europe]* (Moscow: 1963). Also see Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence*, 1918 (Los Angeles: 1967), 189.
18 Kaveh Bayat, *Storm in the Caucasus, 1917-1921* (Tehran: 2002), 45-47 (in Persian).
19 A. K. Alekparov, *Issledovanie po arkheologii i etnografii Azerbaidjana [Researches into the History and Ethnography of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1960), 71.

against this action, declaring: 'This part of the Caucasus, whose population speaks Turkish, has never been named Azerbaijan.'[20] The Iranian Embassy in Istanbul sent an official letter of protest to Baku, but nothing further was done.[21] Khiabani was so disturbed by this naming, that in order to prevent future misunderstanding and possible problems, he even suggested changing the name of the Iranian province to 'Azadistan' ('Land of Freedom').[22]

This intentional misnomer finds a ready parallel with Macedonia which gained independence during the final decade of the twentieth century. Already known as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the name stuck after the break-up of the Yugoslavian federation, notwithstanding the fact that the name also belongs to a province in Greece, situated across the border. As a result of repeated protests by the Greek government, the United Nations decided to resolve the matter by calling the newly established country the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (or FYR Macedonia), which is only now used on official forms and everyone calls the country by its short, albeit incorrect name.

Thus, on the northern shores of Arax, south of the Caucasus Range there appeared a new country, whose name was the same as that of another, much older province across the border, to its south. An act which, as prophesised by the Russian orientalist V. V. Barthold, has already created much animosity between the two.[23] The new country founded in 1918 roughly on the territory inhabited in the medieval times by the Albanian tribes, began its quest to present itself as a 'historical country'.[24] After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Iranian historians were hoping that the newly independent Azerbaijan would renounce its borrowed name and revert to its original and ancient name of 'Arran' or 'Shirvan', but it was not to be, as the newly independent Azerbaijani authorities also nurtured the same expansionist plans as their predecessors. And so the name remained.[25]

Barthold's prophesy that adopting the name Azerbaijan was a plan paving the way for the future annexation of Iranian Azerbaijan became reality, when,

20 Touraj Atabaki, *Azerbaijan: Ethnicity and the Struggle for Power in Iran* (London and New York: 2000), 2 & 25. See also Moghaddam, op. cit., 38.

21 Kaveh Bayat, *Azerbaijan. Ethnicity and the Struggle for Power in Iran*, op. cit., 66-67.

22 Touraj Atabaki, op. cit., 50. See also Ahmad Kasravi, *The Eighteen-Year History of Azerbaijan* (Tehran: 1978), vol. 2, 872. Also Ali Azari, *The Rebellion of Sheikh Khiabani* (Tehran: 1970), 299. Both in Persian.

23 Barthold, op. cit., 703.

24 Kaveh Bayat, *Azerbaijan in the Ups and Downs of History* (Tehran: 2000), 6-11.

25 S. Aghajanian, *The Truth about the History of Armenia and Azerbaijan* (London: *Keyhan* newspaper, special issue 447, 1993), 28-30.

after the end of the Second World War and the Soviet occupation of north-western Iran,[26] the Azerbaijani communist party was established in Tabriz as the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. The acting force behind the movement was the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Azerbaijan, Mir Jafar Baghirov, who was acting on Stalin's orders. The Azerbaijani branch of the Iranian communist Tudeh Party soon organized an extraordinary meeting where it was decided to merge with the local Democratic Party,[27] which itself later organised a referendum aimed at declaring Iranian Azerbaijan independent and joining it with Soviet Azerbaijan.[28]

All the documentation regarding the above schemes and actions became public when the archives of Soviet Azerbaijan relating to the years 1939-47 became public and were researched for the first time. Based on the Azerbaijani SSR archives, the Azerbaijani-Turkish historian Jamil Hasanly prepared two studies,[29] one of which has also been published in Russian.[30] The title of the second work refers to Iranian Azerbaijan as 'Southern Azerbaijan'—*USSR-Iran: The Beginning of the Cold War over Southern Azerbaijan, 1945-46*—but in the Russian version the adjective 'Southern' has been dropped. The archives analysed by Hasanly show how the USSR in realising its expansionist plans was aiming to annex the whole of Iranian Azerbaijan. Important sections of these two volumes have been translated into Persian by Mansur Hammami, and published in 2004 in Tehran.[31]

Brenda Shaffer, an American-Israeli political scientist, also confirms that the seeds for the 're-unification' of Iranian Azerbaijan and the Republic of Azerbaijan were sown in 1918 by the Musavat Party.[32] This became once more apparent, when in 1992 Abulfaz Elchibey, the president of the now independent post-Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, addressed this question saying that he planned to resolve this matter and 'rejoin the forcefully separated brethren'. He confirmed this policy during the plenary session of his

26 In 1941 Iran was occupied by the Allied forces, the northern parts by the Soviet Union and the south by the Anglo-American troops.

27 Fereidun Keshavarz, *I Accuse* (Tehran: 1980), 61.

28 Barthold, op. cit., 703.

29 Jamil Hasanly, *The struggle of Tehran, Moscow and Baku over Southern Azerbaijan, 1939-1945* (Baku: 1998), and *USSR-Iran: The Beginning of the Cold War over SouthernAzerbaijan, 1945-46* (Baku: 1999)

30 Jamil Hasanly, *SSSR-Iran: Azerbaidjanskiy kryzis i nachalo kholodnoj vojny, 1941-1946 [USSR-Iran: The Crisis of Azerbaijan and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1941-1946]*, Moscow: Geroji Otchestva, 2006.

31 Jamil Hasanly, *The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan*, tr. Mansur Hammami (Tehran: 1383).

32 Brenda Shaffer, *Borders and Brethren* (Cambridge, MA: 2002), 37.

Azerbaijani Popular Front Party held on January 30-31, 1998:

> The Popular Front of Azerbaijan supports the restoration of the ethnic unity of Azerbaijanis living on both sides of the borders. The Azerbaijani people should be recognized as a united whole. Economic, cultural and social ties between our divided nation should be restored. All obstacles to the creation of direct contacts (visits to relations and friends) should be abolished.[33]

In 1999 Elchibey, as leader of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, once again confirmed its policy, stating that 'the creation of a state in North Azerbaijan was a great victory of that movement [United Azerbaijan Movement] and the beginning of a new stage. This new stage will end with the creation of and [or] restoration of a united Azerbaijan statehood.'[34] These policies are still ongoing and are indeed gathering momentum. In addition to the printed media and the internet, with petrodollars pouring into their country, the Azerbaijani authorities have established a TV channel GunAz TV (Guney Azarbaycan Televizyonu or Southern Azerbaijan Television), which airs propaganda material aimed at the Iranian province that encourages separatism. This is openly aided and abetted by the Azerbaijani government and its officials, and has created a political rift between Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan.[35]

In an effort to ameliorate the situation, the Iranian authorities divided the historical province of Azerbaijan, which in the past extended the length of the north-western border of Iran along the Arax River. In 1937 the province was split into two parts, namely Eastern and Western Azerbaijan. In 1993 these were further reorganised into the three provinces of Western Azerbaijan, Eastern Azerbaijan and Ardabil. The last is the province that shares the longest border with the Republic of Azerbaijan but the Iranian side has eliminated the name of Azerbaijan from this province's title altogether. Thus the two adjoining regions on the different sides of the river do not share the common Azerbaijan toponym. Perhaps, at the time, Khiabani's suggestion was to be taken more seriously.

The audacity of the present Azerbaijani authorities has now reached another peak. On February 1, 2012, members of the Milli Majlis, Azerbaijan's parliament,

33 Cameron Brown, 'Wanting to Have Their Cake and Their Neighbour's Too: Azerbaijani Attitudes Towards Karabakh and Iranian Azerbaijan', *The Middle East Journ a l*, vol. 58, no. 4 (Washington DC: 2004), 587-588.

34 Ibid., 588.

35 'Iranian Azerbaijan: Brewing Hotspot or Future Separatism?', *Today-Az* internet newspaper, November 11, 2010, Baku. Website http://www.today.az/news/analytics/76478.html.

proposed an official change of name for their country to Northern Azerbaijan, citing similarities of their case with North and South Korea, and North and South Cyprus. Claiming that a full two thirds of their territory lies in Southern Azerbaijan, i.e. Iran, they called for a national referendum on the name change.[36]

Soviet ideology and the policy of falsification

Until 1922 and before the annexation of the Baltic republics, the Soviet Union had only two countries that could call themselves ancient, namely Armenia and Georgia.[37] These were the only countries that could claim a continuous ancient historical and cultural heritage—and statehood. For the Turkic and Iranian speakers of the Soviet Central Asian republics, the newly formed political entities and state structures imposed by the USSR were unfamiliar and strange, since the majority of these people until only a generation previously had been nomads roaming the low and high pastures, moving vast distances each year over the region. Of course, in the geographical area of Central Asia itself there existed ancient cities such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Merv, Khokand, Khiva, Kashgar and others that had, in the past been major centres of religious and scientific knowledge and learning—and it is significant that these were also major centres of Iranian civilization. Outside of these cities, however, the general population of the newly-established republics, until the birth of the USSR, had mainly consisted of scattered nomadic tribes.

As for Azerbaijan, we already noted that this was a newly established country, born in 1918, and for the population of the region the name Azerbaijani was a modern misnomer and a very ambiguous one. The term 'Azerbaijani' was absent even from the First All-Union Census of the Soviet Union, held in December 1926. It is worthy of mention that prior to the sovietization of the Republic of Azerbaijan the country's population included many Persians, Armenians, Russians, Jews, Iranian Azerbaijanis, remnants of the Albanian tribes, Talysh, Lezgins and the Turkic-speaking descendants of the Seljuks, Mongols and other Central Asian Turkic tribes. For many centuries the locals had been calling themselves Turks, Tatars or simply Muslims.

The Russian Empire, over most of whose territory the USSR was subsequently established, since the 1840s was known as the 'prison of nations'.

36 See http://en.trend.az/news/politics/1986820.html, article by M. Aliyev, Trend agency.

37 Armenia as a country appears in the Graeco-Roman and Islamic literature and maps some 2,600 years ago but the union of Abkhazia, Iberia, Mingrelia, Imeretia, etc, that took the name Georgia appears in literature and maps after the twelfth century CE only.

Contrary to the tsarist policies, the USSR was to be based on the equality of its constituent nations, and the ideology and friendship of all nations, which was understood to include the equal rights and peaceful coexistence of the socialist peoples of its constituent republics. From the points of view of socioeconomic and political development, the populations in each republic were basically different, and the new Soviet ideology and policies were designed to bring all peoples at different stages of development to one common and acceptable level.

This is evident in the very first decrees that followed the October Revolution. Thus the People's Soviet of Russia on November 15, 1917, adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, whereby it was stated that the newly formed governments were to be guided by the equality of the people and the sovereignty of republics, their freedom for self-determination (even so far as separation), provision of all ethnic and religious rights and the free development of ethnic groups living in 'the territory of Russia'.[38]

The development of these directives could readily be seen in the discussions and resolutions of the Tenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party held on March 8-16, 1921. Stalin, in his report on the ethnic question, declared:

> The essence of inequality of the nations is due to our inherited attitudes, whereby a nation, especially the Great Russian one, due to its political and industrial achievements is more advanced than the others. The actual inequality stems from these notions and cannot be overcome within one year, but can only be rectified by the way of providing political, economic and cultural assistance to these backward nations.[39] ... The question of nationality in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic is that we aim to eliminate the economic, political and cultural inequality inherited from their past, so that the backward nations could be given the possibility of reaching Russia in governmental, cultural and economic fields. ... Our task is to utilise all our forces to assist these nations, the elements of their proletariat and working classes, to develop Soviet statehood through their national languages.[40]

38 See http://cccp.narod.ru/work/book/prava_nar.html.

39 From 1913, the Stalinist description of developed nations assumed that 'a nation is a historically developed and stable entity, resulted on the basis of common language, habitat, economic life and psychological traits manifested by the unity of their culture'. See J. Stalin, *Marxism and the Question of Nationality* (Moscow: 1950), 22.

40 See http://magister.msk.ru/library/stalin/5-1.htm

Prior to the congress the fundamental needs and the means of achieving them had been published on February 10, 1921, in the party organ *Pravda*, whereby it was deemed necessary to take the following actions:

a. Develop and reinforce local [i.e. not in the territory of Greater Russia] Soviet statehood in the manner of their national character.
b. Establish local courts working with the local language and establish leadership, economic and governing bodies, selecting persons knowledgeable in the culture and psyche of the local population.
c. Develop the press, schooling, theatre, clubs and generally cultural-educational foundations utilising the local ethnic language.[41]

Stalin's method of realising this political course, the elimination of inequality, was known as 'korenizatsiya'—translated roughly by Yuri Slezkine as 'taking root' or 'radicalisation'—which continued until the 1920s and 1930s, or, according to some researchers, much longer.[42]

In his article 'The Soviet Union as a Communal Apartment', Slezkine discusses in detail these policies and the resolutions reached by the USSR for addressing them.[43] After much discussion he arrives at the following conclusion:

> According to the new party line, all officially recognized Soviet nationalities were supposed to have their own nationally defined 'Great Traditions' that needed to be protected, perfected, and if need be, invented by specially trained professionals in specially designated institutions.[44]

It is mainly by means of such activities that the Soviet authorities encouraged their so called 'backward nations', including Soviet Azerbaijan and the Soviet Central Asian republics, to create their national identity, history and culture, including theatre, opera, folk and classical music, art, common language, script and literature. It is these activities that drive the researchers and schol-

41 *Pervij Vsesoyuznyj sezd sovetskikh pisatelej. Stenograficheskij otcheot [The First All-Union Congress of the Soviet Writers. Stenographic Report]* (Moscow: 1934).
42 For details see Galina Litvinova, *K voprosu natsionalnoj politike [On the Question of National Politics]* (http://www.hrono.ru/libris/lib_l/litvinova_nac.html). See also Yuri Slezkine, 'The Soviet Union as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Pluralism', in *Stalinism: New Directions*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick (London: 2000), 335.
43 Yuri Slezkine, op. cit., 313-347.
44 Ibid., 335.

ars of the newly founded republics (possibly through direct intervention by the central powers) to take the required steps in creating new 'scientific' works in order to confirm their 'ancient' nationhood, and 'rediscover' their old and established national history and culture. It is quite likely that the invented, falsified and distorted articles and literature presented as 'scientific' owe their origins mainly to such state-sponsored policies. In the case of Azerbaijan, its external but close friends, such as Turkey, would be extremely happy to encourage these steps of re-establishing it as an old nation and state, which would only augment their own extreme pan-Turkic cause.

During the Sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party in 1930, Stalin once again warned all present:

> To the peoples of the USSR. ... Uniting of all with the Great Russian nation and making Russian the common language is national chauvinism and against Leninist theories, according to which, national differences are not going to disappear within a short period of time and will even continue after the victory of the international proletariat.[45]

Rewriting history and the establishment of Azerbaijani identity

Victor Shnirelman, a specialist on the peoples and history of the South Caucasus and their collective memory and identity, says that 'having come into being, a new state has to appeal to history in order to legitimize its right to exist, somehow showing it has deep roots and a continuous historical tradition'.[46] Referring to the works of Audrey Altstadt, he then makes the following observation:

> Azerbaijan did not fail to follow this common path. Since its birth the historians in the new state persistently demonstrated their restless interest in the early and medieval history of Azerbaijan, searching for the roots of both the nation and its statehood.[47]

However, in the case of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the lack of a true historiography did not encourage the historians into researching the past for discovering long-lost roots and histories but instead led them down the path of

45 I. V. Stalin, *Sochinenie [Collected Works]* (Moscow: 1952), vol. 13, 4.
46 Victor Shnirelman, *The Value of the Past: Myths, Identity and Politics in Transcaucasia* (Osaka: 2001), 93.
47 Ibid. See also A. Altstadt, op. cit., 173-174.

claiming ownership to the history and culture of others, distorting and rewriting history at the cost of their neighbours, in this case Armenia, Iran and Iranian Azerbaijan.

When history comes under the influence and control of political forces and their doctrines, the resulting rewritten history becomes a formidable weapon, affecting a nation's formation and its subsequent political thought and activity. At present Azerbaijani historiography is a politicised tool, used foremost for the ethnic consolidation of the Azerbaijani nation and its identity at precisely the expense of their neighbours.

After the death of Stalin in 1953 the situation regarding Soviet nationalities gradually began to change. Boris Ponomarev's edited *History of the USSR* (1966) now asserted the importance of presenting the population and nations of the USSR as constituent parts of a monolithic entity with an interconnected past. He insisted that 'it is impossible and incorrect to look at the histories of the republics of the USSR as a mosaic of their individual histories'.[48]

This approach, as we shall see below, is completely in accordance with the conditions mentioned in the previous section, whereby to suit the present policies the necessary adoption and invention of history is encouraged. As a manifestation of such an approach, many Azerbaijani historians began to research the history and political formation of all the various peoples and nations who had ever lived in their territory, altering and adapting them to their own needs. The result of this extensive programme was the publication of a three-volume study *The History of Azerbaijan*, which was followed by a plethora of related 'scientific' and 'academic' publications.[49] The phenomenon has been studied by Stephan Astourian of the University of Berkeley, California. In one of his articles he analyses one of the works of Farida Mamedova, an Azerbaijani historian energetically rewriting history. Astourian describes Mamedova's aim as 'how the intelligentsia of a nation under formation, such as the Azerbaijanis of Caucasian Albania, is trying to create an imaginary past'.[50]

Since the 1960s, therefore, the Azerbaijani authorities have seriously promoted the quest for their 'ancient culture and history'. In order to achieve this

48 Boris, Ponomarev (ed.), *Istoriya SSSR: S drevneijshikh vremen do nashykh dnej: V 2 seriyakh, v 12 tom [The History of USSR: from the Earliest Times to Our Days, in Two Parts and Twelve Volumes]* (Moscow: 1966), xxvii.

49 Audrey Altstadt, op. cit., 172-173.

50 Stephan Astourian, 'In Search of their Forefathers: National Identity and the Historiography and Politics of Armenian and Azerbaijani Ethnogeneses', in eds. D. Schwartz & R. Panossian, *Nationalism and History: The Politics of Nation Building in Post-Soviet Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia* (Toronto: 1994), 85.

goal there was much work to be done and many obstacles to be overcome. The most important and complicated challenge was the alteration of the history and culture of their neighbours the Armenians in such a way that the latter's ancient heritage could be attributed instead to Azerbaijan. To achieve this aim it was essential to ensure that this newly fabricated and rewritten history would become familiar to all and sundry, that people would gradually get used to seeing it at every turn and eventually come to accept it as the truth. The systematic and planned annihilation of the Armenian peoples by the Ottomans and Turks perpetrated between 1915 and 1923 showed that it was not possible to eliminate a nation by physical eradication and destruction of its people. Therefore it was deemed necessary to use a different methodology whereby the Armenian population living in the area of present-day Armenia and Artsakh, as well as present-day Azerbaijan, could be separated and distanced from their culture, history and monuments constructed by their forefathers, which would then be presented to the world as belonging to the 'Great Nation and State of Azerbaijan'.

In order therefore to present the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan as an ethnically unified entity, it was unwise to refer to pre-1918 archives, documents and sources, since as mentioned before, nowhere in the Graeco-Roman, Western and Islamic literatures, or even those of historians born in the locality,[51] is the name Azerbaijan or Azerbaijani as attributed to the territory and the people living north of the River Arax to be found. Hence the only way out was to alter and rewrite history, inventing whatever was necessary and claiming ownership to that of the others, followed by the wholesale appropriation of existing cultural monuments and history as Azerbaijan's own 'ancient' heritage. Indeed, to be fully effective, these combined claims had to be applied to all the Christian religious and cultural monuments found in the territories of Armenia, Artsakh and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Fortunately, in the case of the Islamic monuments found in the Republic of Azerbaijan, labelling them as 'Azerbaijani' presented no problems, since they belonged mainly to the Shia faith prevalent in Azerbaijan and could thus readily be appropriated. The case of the multitude of remaining Christian monuments found in the Republic of Azerbaijan was somewhat different. It was obvious that most were the legacy of Christian Armenians with a small number belonging to the Christian Albanians. Clearly this reality was not

51 Among these historians are A. Bakikhanov, the founder of Azerbaijani historiography, as well as Mirza Qarabaghi and Mirza Adigeozal Beg.

acceptable to the Azerbaijani authorities and so it was necessary to assign all the Christian monuments to the Albanians, who, according to the recently announced theories and claims, were the forefathers of the present-day Azerbaijanis. In order to implement this programme it was therefore necessary to 'prove' that the modern population of the Republic of Azerbaijan were the heirs and direct descendants of the Caucasian Albanian (26) tribes, who, according to Strabo inhabited the area in ancient times, while the Armenians present and living in the region were 'newcomers' to the area. Next it was crucial to prove that the Christian monuments, churches, monasteries and other cultural edifices in the territories of Artsakh and the Republic of Azerbaijan were in fact built and maintained by the Albanians. When and if these conjectures could be established and proven, these monuments by default would become part of 'Ancient and Medieval Azerbaijani culture'.

Every means of achieving this was put into action, and from the 1960s onwards Azerbaijan began the publication of its relevant theories via a flood of research papers, monographs, books and articles. Historians active in this field included Zia Buniatov,[52] his pupil Farida Mahmedova,[53] Igrar Aliyev,[54] Kamil Mammedzade,[55] Davud Agha-oghlu Akhundov[56] and Rashid Geyushev.[57] Simultaneously, Christian monuments and places in Azerbaijan were being renamed while many Armenian monuments were deliberately destroyed and eradicated.

As indicated, in order to bring this programme to its culmination, certain 'alterations' needed to be made to the existing historical, cultural and demographic sources, with the following requiring particular consideration and effort:

1. Ethnicity of the population

a. Redefining the population of Karabagh (Artsakh), who were Armenian, to 'people who arrived there during the past two centuries'.

52 Z. Buniatov, *Azerbaidjan v VII-IX vekakh [Azerbaijan during the Seventh-Ninth Centuries]* (Moskva: 1973).

53 Farida Mamedova, *Politicheskaya istoriya i istoricheskaya geografiya Kavkazskoj Albanii [The Political History and Historical Geography of Caucasian Albania]* (Baku: 1986).

54 Igrar Aliyev, *Ocherk istorii Atropatena [A Brief History of Atropatene]* (Baku: 1989).

55 Kamil Mamadzade & A. R. Salamzade, *Arkhitekturnye pomyatniki Sheki [The Architectural Monuments of Sheki]* (Baku: 1987).

56 Davud Aqa Oghlu Akhundov, *Arkhitektura drevnego i ranno-srednevekogo Azerbaidjana [The Architecture of Ancient and Early Medieval Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1986).

57 Rashid Geyushev, *Khristianstvo v kavkazskoj Albanii [Christianity in Caucasian Albania]* (Baku: 1984).

b. The same approach applied to the Armenians living in the other regions and cities of the Republic of Azerbaijan as well as those living in the present-day Republic of Armenia.
c. Proving that the Albanians are the forefathers of the present-day population of the Republic of Azerbaijan.
d. Proving that in the same territory prior to the nineteenth century there were no Armenians or any other Christian peoples apart from the Albanians.
e. Presenting the population of the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan and Ardabil as artificially separated from but ethnically joined to the population of Soviet and present-day Republic of Azerbaijan.

2. Written records and cultural monuments

a. Proving that all the churches, monasteries, stone crosses (in Armenian: 'khachkars') and Christian monuments found within the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Artsakh were created by the Albanians.
b. Claiming that all the writers, scientists and notables who have ever lived in the territory are Azerbaijani and that their works are a 'part of Azerbijani heritge and culture'.
c. Claiming that all the mosques and Islamic tombs existing in the same area have Azerbaijani origin, notwithstanding the fact that most dating prior to the nineteenth century were built by the Iranians.

3. Renaming of countries, towns and villages

a. Enforcing the names of 'Northern Azerbaijan' and 'Southern Azerbaijan' as the names of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Iranian Azerbaijan.[58]
b. Renaming the present-day Armenian territory as 'Western Azerbaijan'.

If the leaders and authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan succeed in their undertaking, due to the alleged absence of Armenians from the territory in question prior to the nineteenth century, most of the region of the republic of Armenia, all of Artsakh and Siunik, as well as the Iranian provinces will

58 At the present the former Iranian province of Azerbaijan is divided into the three provinces of Western Azerbaijan, Eastern Azerbaijan and Ardabil.

become constituent parts of 'Historical Azerbaijan', which seems to be the main aim.[59]

The Arab teacher and historian Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), born in Tunis, is renowned for his *Al-Muqaddimah (An Introduction to History)* where he issues seven important commands to future historians. In his opinion most historians make erroneous decisions, which seriously hinder and distort their output.[60] Listing seven commands, he recommends that historians should keep them firmly in mind and compose works in accordance with these maxims, of which the Azerbaijani historians undoubtedly need to be reminded. Ibn Khaldun writes:

1. Be non-partisan regarding the opinions of others and schools of thought.
2. Do not rely fully upon those who transmit information to you.
3. Be aware of the purpose of events. Many a transmitter does not know the real significance of his observations or of the things he has learned about orally. He transmits the information, attributing to it the significance he assumes or imagines it to have.
4. Avoid unfounded assumptions as to the truth of the thing. This is frequent. It results mostly from complete reliance upon transmitters.
5. Understand how conditions conform to reality. Conditions are affected by ambiguities and artificial distortions.
6. Avoid approaching great and high-ranking persons with praise and encomiums. They embellish conditions and spread their own fame. The information made public in such cases is not truthful.
7. Be informed about the nature of the various conditions arising in civilization.

One good example of inventing history can be seen in the recently rewritten history of Turkmenistan, which, as a nation, first came into being in 1924. After the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, Turkmenistan's leader Saparmurat Niyazov (1940-2006) bestowed upon himself the title of 'Turkmenbashi' (Leader of the Turkmens). He then wrote his magnum opus *Ruhnama*, an all-encompassing history of the Turkmen nation, and dedicated it to their 5,000-year-old history. He begins with the origin of the Turkmen

59 For additional material regarding this conclusion, see p. 44.
60 Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. F. Rosenthal, abridged N. J. Dawood (Princeton & Oxford: 1978), 35-36.

peoples, who, according to him are the direct descendants of Noah.[61] The book specifically states that the Oghuz Turks, the peoples of Anatolia, the Egyptian Mamluks, the Safavids and Qajars of Iran and many others were originally Turkmen and that present-day Turkey and Turkmenistan are one nation divided into two countries, precisely the same proposition as that put forward by the Azerbaijanis.[62] During Niyazov's lifetime, reading his book was compulsory for all Turkmens.

Azerbaijan's methodology in rewriting history

In order to achieve the goals mentioned in the previous section, the Azerbaijanis seem to have applied every ways and means possible: radio and television programmes, academic and newspaper publications, periodicals, pamphlets, specific brochures targeting ethnography, geography and history, the internet and its various attributes. These appear in several languages with the support of the officials of the Azerbaijani National Academy of Sciences and government ministries, and are heavily financed by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation. During the Soviet era, this process of falsification was undertaken in a variety of subjects by an army of scholars including Buniatov and Mamedova through the publication of academic monographs and research papers[63] and even textbooks.

The response against the specifically anti-Armenian fabrications came from such Armenian academics as Paruir Sevak and Asatur Mantsakanian,[64] Karapet Melik-Ohanjanian,[65] Bagrat Ulubabian,[66] Babken Harutunian,[67] Henrik

61 See the website www.turkmenistan.gov.tm/ruhnama. This is a typical example of an invented history book, a fact that has not prevented it from being translated into 22 languages, all of which are available on the internet.

62 Nariman Qurbanov, *Azarbaycan-Turkiye: Bir Millat Iki Dovlat* (Baku: 2007).

63 One of such books is A. K. Alekperov's *Issledovanie po arkheologii i etnografii Azerbaidjana [Research into the History and Ethnography of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1960).

64 Paruir Sevak & Asatour Mnatsakanyan, 'Po povodu knigi Z. Buniatova "Azerbaidjan v VII-IX vek"' ['The Reasoning behind Z. Buniatov's Book "Azerbaijan during the Seventh to Ninth Centuries"'], *Patmabanasirakan Handes [Historical Philological Journal]* (Yerevan: 1968/1) 177-190.

65 Karapet Melik-Ohanjanian, 'Istoriko-literaturnaya kontseptsiya Z. Buniatova' ['Historical and Literary Concepts of Z. Buniatov'], *Banber Hayastani Arkhivneri [Herald of the Armenian Archives]* (Yerevan: 1968/2), 169-190.

66 Bagrat Ulubabyan, 'Yeshcho odna proizvolnaya interpretatsiya Armyanskoj "Istoriya Strany Agvan"' ['Yet Another Interpretation of the Armenian "History of the Aghvank"'], *Banber Hayastani Arkhivneri [The Herald of Armenian Archives]* (Yerevan: 1979/2), 219-232

67 Babken Harutunyan, 'Kogda otsustvuet nauchnaya dobrosovestnost' ['When Scientific Conscience is Lacking'], *Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri [Reporter of Social Sciences]* (Yerevan: 1987/7), 33-56.

Svazyan,[68] Pavel Chobanian,[69] Hayapet Margarian[70] and Gevork Stepanian.[71] Two milestone articles are the Russian-language 'Research on the History of Caucasian Albania', a joint effort by Alexan Hakobian, Paruir Muradian and Karen Yuzbashian,[72] and 'Another Attack on the Armenians or How to Falsify History' by Gagik Sargisian and Paruir Muradian.[73] However, virtually all of this body of work has been published either in Armenian or Russian (or both), appearing mostly in local specialist journals and periodicals with limited circulation. Because of the language barrier these works have largely remained unknown to the general public and specialists in Europe and the Americas, which today are the main targeted audience for Azerbaijani anti-Armenian propaganda.[74]

Still applying the methodology developed by the Soviet authorities, the Azerbaijani 'scientific' articles and publications serving certain political aims and purposes have continued to develop and have become so deeply rooted that the new generations of the Republic of Azerbaijan accept their newly rewritten history as the truth. They have no reason to believe anything other than that the Armenians arrived in the South Caucasus after 1828 and that all the Christian monuments found in the republic and Artsakh have Albanian origins. In April 2009, the author of this volume presented his book *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination* at a

68 Henrik Svazyan, 'Primer ispolzovaniya istoricheskoj nauki v ekspansivnykh tselyakh' ['Example of the Use of the Science of History in Expansionistic Aims'], *Patmabanasirakan Handes [Historical Philological Journal]* (Yerevan: 1989/2), 46-56.

69 P. Chobanian & M. Karapetian, 'Iz istorii armyano-russkikh otnoshenij' ['The History of Armenian-Russian Relations'], in L. Khurshudian (ed.), *K osveshcheniyu problem istorii i kultury Kavkazskoj Albanii i vostochnykh provintsii Armenii [Clarifications on Questions of the Cultural History of Caucasian Albania and the Eastern Provinces of Armenia]*, vol. 1 (Yerevan: 1991), 94-106.

70 A. Markaryan, *Khronika strany Aluank Mkhitara Gosha [The Chronicle of Albania by Mkhitar Gosh]*, in L. Khurshudian (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1 (Yerevan: 1991), 214-224.

71 Gevorg Stepanian, 'Enddem Arevelyan Aysrkovkasi patmutyan adrbejanakan keghtsararneri' ['Against the Azerbaijani Falsifiers of the History of Eastern Transcaucasus'], *Vem* (Yerevan: 2009/1), 133-143.

72 Aleksan Akopian, Paruir Muradian & Karen Yuzbashian, 'K izucheniyu istorii Kavkazskoi Albanii' ['Research on the History of Caucasian Albania'], *Patmabansirakan Handes [Historical Philological Journal]* (Yerevan: 1987/3), 166-189.

73 Gagik Sargsyan & Paruir Muradyan, 'Hertakan arshavank i hays kam te inchpes en nengapokhum patmutune' ['Another Attack on the Armenians or How to Falsify History'], *Grakan Tert [Literary Gazette]* (Yerevan: 1988, July 1).

74 As already mentioned, one of the few important non-Armenian publications on this matter has been the article by Stephan Astourian in 1994 and the works of George Bournoutian.

round table conference and discussion held at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Brussels, where the audience included five young Azerbaijani officials. During the question and answer session following the presentation it was discovered that so far as the Armenians and their culture were concerned, this generation of Azerbaijanis sincerely hold their fabricated anti-Armenian history as being the true version of events. On the Azerbaijani history books which form the source of these misguided teachings, historians Sergei Rumyantsev and Ilham Abbasov have the following to say:

> The future that the authors of these textbooks suggest is a state of permanent rivalry with the 'olden' enemies. This is exactly what the generation of pupils are fated if they study from these textbooks.[75]

History textbooks published during the past decade or so in the Republic of Azerbaijan are the special study of the Iranian Hossein Ahmadi. Focusing on *Ata Yurdu (Fatherland)*, published in 2003 and aimed at fifth grade pupils, Ahmadi concludes that the misinformation and fabrication presented in this particular textbook are aimed expressly at Iran and Iranian history, culture and ethnos. Iranians are presented as the prime enemies of the Azerbaijani people and the main reason for the splitting up and destruction of 'Ancient Azerbaijan'. In this respect Iran is followed by Armenia, and even Russia is listed as an enemy.[76]

All this reminds us of the history taught during the Soviet era, which had to pass through the censorship of the authorities and was explicitly believed by much of the population of the USSR. The above analysis indicates that all the post-Soviet falsifications characterising the historiography of the Republic of Azerbaijan can be categorised as follows:

Historical falsification and fabrication

The Azerbaijani historians, encouraged by the rewriting of history by their Turkish cousins, imitate their efforts, continuing with similar 'creativity' and zeal. Ataturk, the founding father of the modern Turkey has been a good example for Azerbaijani historians—in one of his speeches he stated: 'Writing history

75 Ilham Abbasov & Sergei Rumyansev, 'Azerbaijan', in L. Vesely (ed.), *Contemporary History Books in the South Caucasus* (Prague: 2008), 55.

76 Hossein Ahmadi, 'Barresiye ketabhaye darsiye Jomhuriye Azerbayjan (Investigation of the Textbooks of the Republic of Azerbaijan)'. *Faslnameye elmi pajuheshiye motaleate melli [Nationality Studies Quarterly]*. Year 46, 1390. vol. 12/2 (Tehran: 2011), 157-184.

is as important as making it.'[77] Another good example is a sixth grade history textbook used in Turkish schools, where one can note the following statement:

> Turks from Central Asia migrated to various parts of the world, and helped the natives who still lived in the Palaeolithic Age into the Neolithic Age [9500 BC]. They learned from the Turks how to cultivate the earth, and how to work metals. In these new countries, the Turks made further advances, building large cities and founding strong states. Important centres of civilization were thus created in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria and around the Aegean Sea.[78]

The 'new' histories created by the Azerbaijani historians in a smilar vein begin to be presented to school-age children via history textbooks, where the republic is presented as a country with an ancient history and statehood, on whose territory Armenia was later founded. In these textbooks such scenarios are presented as the Republic of Azerbaijan being contemporary to the Sumerians—'the existence of ancient Azerbaijani tribes is presented in the Sumerian myths and their stone carvings'[79]—or the claim that 'Armenia was founded on the historical lands of Western Azerbaijan', repeating the claims of the Azerbaijani historians.[80]

In 2008 the Russian Federation organised a conference whose aim was the analysis of the extreme falsifications and fabrications found in the recent textbooks of the former Soviet republics, in which most participated.[81]

The problems discussed in the conference are prominently visible in Zia Buniatov's edited reference book *Geographical History of Azerbaijan*, where he presents articles by well known Azerbaijani scholars, especially produced for the volume.[82] The titles of the chapters relate to different periods of Azerbaijani

77 Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, *The Speech*, tr. Onder Renkliyildirim (Istanbul: 1985), 4.
78 *Milli Tarih I*, Turkish Secondary School History Textbook, 6th grade (Ankara: 1991), 25 (in Azerbaijani-Turkish). See also V. L. Antoniou & Y. N. Soysal, 'Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks', *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, eds. Hanna Schiessler & Yasemin Soysal (New York & Oxford: 2005), 112.
79 R. Aliyev, Y. Yousoufov, I. Babayev, I. Jafarov & A. Mamedova, *History of Azerbaijan, 6th Grade Textbook* (Baku: 2002), 55 (in Azerbaijani-Turkish).
80 Ibid., 6.
81 For details see A. A. Danilov & A. V. Filipov (eds), *Osveshchenie obshchei istorii Rossii i narodov postsovetskikh stran v shkolnykh uchebnikakh istorii novykh nezavisymykh gosydarstv [The Explanations of General History of Russia and of Post-Soviet Countries in the History Textbooks of the Newly Independent Governments]* (Moscow: 2009). See also the website http://nlvp.ru/reports/doclad_hist_ 02_light.pdf.
82 Zia Buniatov, *Istoricheskaya geografiya Azerbaidjana [Historical Geography of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1987), 76.

history, yet the texts relate to the country of Albania. This is one of the methods of replacing the name of Albania with that of Azerbaijan, equating the two in the reader's mind and taking another step in the quest of making Azerbaijan an 'ancient' state. The subject of the second chapter is the country of Azerbaijan, situated on both banks of the River Arax, and yet the author, in this case one of the authors, Valikhanov, uses a tenth-century Islamic map of the region made by Ibn Hawqal but overlooks the fact that the region north of the Arax is labelled Arran (Albania) but the region to the south of the river is Azerbaijan, thus contradicting Valikhanov's own thesis.[83]

One of the founding members of the Musavat Party, Mammad Amin Rasulzade, who was instrumental in naming the country, wrote an article 'Caucasian Turks', published in Constantinople in 1928. In it he discusses the differences between the Albanians and the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan, stating that 'Azerbaijan and Albania differ from each other both by language and religion. Azerbaijanis were Zoroastrians, who converted to Islam after onslaught of the Arabs, but Albanians converted to Christianity during the Middle Ages.'[84] One can only conclude once again that naming the new country Azerbaijan was purely for political considerations.

According to the Graeco-Roman classical historians the country named Lesser Media or Atropatene is situated south of the Arax but this has not stopped Azerbaijani academician Igrar Aliyev, only two years after Buniatov's book, from producing his volume *A Glance at the History of Atropatene*. He begins by naming the territory south of the Arax as Atropatene, which corresponds with the title of the work, yet in the main body instead of Atropatene he uses the invented terminology of Southern Azerbaijan, which is not done without intent.[85] Elsewhere one spots the toponym Northern Azerbaijan given the territory north of the Arax, which, according to the accepted geographical data is incorrect.[86] It is abundantly clear that this invented naming is done purely for political propaganda reasons. If and when the newly coined names are repeated over and over again, they do become familiar and the layman can be conditioned accepting

83 The same map is shown on Fig. 27 of the Appendix, and its description can be found on page 145.
84 Mammad Amin Rasulzada, 'Gafkaziya Turklari', *Azarbayjan* (Baku: 1990/12), 143 (in Azerbaijani-Turkish). See also Svazyan, Henrik. 'Kristoneutyan Aghvank nertapantsman ughinern u zhamanakashrjane' ['The Ways of the Penetration of Christianity into Albania'], *Patmabanasirakan Handes [Historical Philological Journal]* (Yerevan: 2002/2), 131-141.
85 Igrar Aliyev, *Ocherk istorii Atropatena [A glance at the History of Atropatene]* (Baku: 1989).
86 Ibid., 9, 42, 59 et al.

them, particularly when these are not refuted and against these so called 'historical' facts no other argument is presented. Furthermore, there is a good possibility that fledgling historians accept these names and begin using them in their own works as source materials, which, by default soon becomes the real and true version, thus establishing the terms of Southern and Northern Azerbaijan as actual historical countries and ancient names.[87]

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After independence the primary task of the Republic of Azerbaijan was to become 'Ancient' and 'Great Azerbaijan', so much so, that in accordance with Bathold's prediction,[88] the authorities tried to annex the Iranian province of Azerbaijan with the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, that is, rejoin their 'forcibly separated' Southern and Northern Azerbaijans.[89]

On December 14, 2005, in his speech read during the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the National Academy of Sciences, the republic's president Ilham Aliyev, in front of the international community, addressed Azerbaijani scholars and encouraged them to busy themselves with articles and monographs proving the historical absence of Armenians from Nagorno-Karabagh. Aliyev promised finance and large rewards for any scholar who could develop and prove the thesis that 'the Armenians came to the region as guests and have absolutely no rightful claim over the territory of Nagorno-Karabagh, which historically belongs to Azerbaijan'. On April 26, 2011, during the general assembly of the same academy he made the following announcement:

> I am pleased that our scientists have positively responded to my appeal and created wonderful works on the history of this region based on real facts in a short period of time. Most importantly, works on the history of the Irevan Khanate[90] are of special importance, because unfortunately, the world community was almost unaware that the present-day Armenian state had been established on historical Azerbaijani lands.[91]

87 Ibid., 53, 90-94, 139 et al.
88 Barthold, op. cit., 703.
89 According to the June 13, 2011 edition of the Azerbaijani site GunAz, the congress of the Azerbaijani Diaspora took place on June 12-13 in Brussels, where the establishment of the 'Front for the Liberation of Southern Azerbaijan' was officially approved, with the aim, assisted by anti-government activists inside Iran, of claiming the Iranian provinces of Western and Eastern Azerbaijan and Ardabil.
90 The khanate of Irevan (Yerevan) is the region around the capital of Armenia, covering almost one third of the territory of Armenia.
91 See the website http://en.president.az/articles/2041.

Both Anthony Smith and Victor Shnirelman observe separately that this fully corresponds with the invention of history implemented by newly established countries (see footnotes 1 & 46). The president makes such objective 'historiographical' announcements not only for the scholars and specialists, but also for the general public of Azerbaijan. Aliyev also made a similar claim during his 2011 New Year speech to the population of his country:

> We all know well that the current state of Armenia was established on historical Azerbaijani lands. The Irevan Khanate, the Zangezur District and other regions are on our historical lands.[92] The Azerbaijani state and people will never allow the establishment of a second Armenian state on Azerbaijani territory. This conflict will only be resolved according to the norms of international law and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.[93]

Such sentiments hark back to the propaganda of the fifth-grade textbook *Ata Yurdu* where the Armenians are presented as a sinister people, scheming all sorts of ills against the Azerbaijanis: 'Throughout many centuries those hostile to us, the "faithless dressed in black"—Armenians and their patrons—have been contriving all kinds of base schemes.'[94]

Cartographic falsification

In order to prove their claims, the Azerbaijani authorities have, over time, produced a great many maps and atlases where their claimed 'Historical Azerbaijan' extends southward as far as the Iranian towns of Zanjan and Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana, capital of Parthian Persia) and northward as far as Derbend. Three of these maps, taken from the *Atlas of Historical Azerbaijan*, recently published in Baku, are depicted in Figures 01, 02 and 03 of the Appendix. They take as their sources of reference *Historical Geography*

92 Zangezur District is presently part of Siunik Marz, Armenia, neighbouring Karabagh.

93 For Aliyev's complete speech see http://www.isria.com/pages/3_January_2011_114.php. In December 2010 this statement also appeared on an Interfax report and www.erevangala500.com, where it was confirmed that Yerevan is built on Azerbaijani land and that President Aliyev was to preside over celebrations for the 500th anniversary of the establishment of the fortress of Yerevan.

94 Y. Mahmudlu, L. Khalilov & S. Aghayev, *Ata-yurdu* (*Homeland: History Textbook for the Fifth Grade)* (Baku: 2010; in Azerbaijani-Turkish). The derogatory epithet 'faithless dressed in black' ('qara donlu kafirler') is the only one highlighted in the textbook, repeated 14 times on pages 61, 62, 71, 93, 102, 113, 159, 166, 177, 187 & 261. See also Ilham Abbasov & Sergei Rumyantsev, op. cit., 44.

of Azerbaijan, edited by Buniatov who has played a key role in modern anti-Armenian and anti-Iranian literature and propaganda.

In *Atlas of Historical Azerbaijan* neither Armenia, Atropatene nor the Iranian province of Azerbaijan are named, but all are shown as territories constituting the claimed land of the 'ancient state of Azerbaijan'. Most of the lands shown as Azerbaijan are in fact parts of the Greater Armenia and Iran, yet in all the maps of this atlas showing Azerbaijan's territories from 200 BCE to the twentieth century, the name Armenia does not appear even once.[95] Sergei Rumyantsev, who has surveyed Azerbaijani history textbooks, observes:

> The purpose of the publication was to represent the Azerbaijani version of 'historical territories' and to oppose the construction of the national hearth of the Armenian nation—Greater Armenia—which had remained unchanged through centuries. By the 1990s these maps of Azerbaijani 'historical territories', a variant of 'Greater Azerbaijan' gradually moved into the pages of the textbooks.[96]

According to the map in Fig. 01 of the Appendix, during the ninth to tenth centuries of our era the territory of Azerbaijan covered all of present-day Armenia as well as all of north-western Iran, but in all of the territories shown this name does not appear at all. The map in Fig. 02 bears the title 'Azerbaijan during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', which extends southwards and includes Ushneh (Oshnaviyeh), south of Lake Urmia, and in the map of the same area during the sixteenth century (Fig. 03) the territory expands and once again includes Hamadan and Derbend, as shown in the first map of the region six centuries previously.

As mentioned, in the Republic of Azerbaijan these falsifications, rewritings of history and redrawing of geographical maps are seeded in school textbooks, designed to condition children into accepting these 'facts'.[97] Rumyantsev quotes the following extract from a seventh-grade history textbook used in Baku schools:

> Since ancient times and up until today my Azerbaijan has been a large and

95 *Historical Maps of Azerbaijan* (Baku: 1994).

96 Sergei Rumyantsev, 'Ethnic Territories Presentation Practice in Historical Textbooks in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan and Georgia', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 30 (Hannover: 2008), 814-815.

97 Y. Mahmudlu, Y. Yousufov, R. Aliyev & A. Gojayev, *History of Azerbaijan: Textbook for the Seventh Grade* (Baku: 2001) (in Azerbaijani-Turkish).

> powerful state. The Derbent fortress which our ancestors called the 'Iron Gate' was part of our Fatherland. The territory of our Fatherland stretches from Derbent to the Caspian and to Kazvin, Hamadan. In the west, Shirak Duzu, ancient Burchali, Dilizhan, Goycha, Irevan, Nakhchivan were indestructible borders of our Fatherland.[98]

The changing alphabet of Azerbaijan

In order to successfully rewrite history according to their needs and political agenda, the historians of the Republic of Azerbaijan have a powerful tool at their disposal. This is the alphabet used by the Azerbaijani Turks, who used to be called Tatars and Muslims. Since the sixteenth century onwards, the spoken language of much of the Muslim population of Shirvan and Daghestan, i.e. the territories approximately covering the region of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, has been Turkish, yet its official and written language was the Persian of the ruling elite and intelligentsia. Local nineteenth-century historians such as Abbas Qoli Bakikhanov, Mirza Adigozel Bey and Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi wrote in Persian, which with its Arabic script, had been widely used in the region since the enghteenth century. However, the local spoken Turkish language was not used for writing until well into the nineteenth century, when a few Azerbaijani-Turkish written works appeared. From earlier periods a few snippets of written Turkish have survived. On the status of the local Turkish language, the Azerbaijani historian Rauf Karagozov concludes:

> Historical literature in the Azerbaijani language is relatively new. The earliest written historical works date back to the eighteenth century, but the majority of the literature was composed during the nineteenth century... whereby the histories of various khanates are presented.[99]

Shnirelman's own views on the Azerbaijani historians include the following:

> The founding father of Azerbaijani historiography, Bakikhanov, begins the narrative of his work *The Heavenly Rose-Garden: The History of Shirvan and Daghestan* from ancient times up to the year 1813. Since these times until the

98 Sergei Rumyantsev, op. cit., 817.

99 Rauf Karageozov, *Metamorfozy kollektivnoj pomyati v Rosii i na Tsentralnom Kavkaze [The Metamorphosis of Collective Memory in Russia and Central Caucasus]* (Baku: 2005), 148.

Soviet era in Azerbaijan there has been no significant work written [in their local language, Turkish].[100]

During the years of the first Republic of Azerbaijan (1918-1920), the Perso-Arabic alphabet was still in use for writing the spoken Turkish of the region. During the period of 1922-1929 this was gradually replaced by a Latin alphabet, adapted for the local Turkish. During 1937-1939 the Soviet authorities replaced this with a version of the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet,[101] which was in use up to 1991, after which, in 1992, another version of the Latin alphabet was chosen for the newly independent Republic of Azerbaijan. The final version has many similarities with the one used in Turkey.[102]

From 1929 to 1939 the new generations of Soviet Azerbaijan had already become largely unfamiliar with the Persian script and were acclimatising to the recently introduced Latin alphabet, when it was abruptly changed to Cyrillic. This version was used for more than 50 years, but after independence there was a need, once again, to embark on learning yet another alphabet, this time a specially adapted Latin script. We are faced therefore with a curious reality where the literary figures and scholars of a country that claims an ancient civilization have, at the behest of their political leaders, easily and on three separate occasions changed their alphabet.

Written language is generally assumed to be the foundation of culture, and each time an alphabet is radically changed it effectively erases the past heritage since the new generation is unable to read it. The old literature has now to be transliterated and written in the new script, which can be an expensive and time-consuming undertaking. However, in the Republic of Azerbaijan this occurred with far greater ease than it could have in other cultures, since the country did not possess a large volume of literature written in its earlier Persian script—the majority of existing written books and records up to the twentieth century were in any case not in the Turkish language but in Persian. Since 1992 there has been the need once again to transliterate the existing literature into the newly adopted alphabet. The authorities now enjoy the chance of making a suitable selection of written works to be transliterated, which conveniently serves their political agenda while placing unsuitable

100 Victor Shnirelman, *Vojny pomyaty: mify, identichnost i politika v Zakavkaziye* [Value of the Past: Myths, Identity and Politics in Transcaucasia] (Moscow: 2003), 123.

101 See A. Frings, 'Playing Moscow off Against Kazan: Azerbaijan Maneuvering to Latinization in the Soviet Union', *Ab Imperio* (2009/4), 249-266.

102 Lilit Movsisyan, 'Outline of the History of the Azerbaijani Alphabet', *21-rd Dar* (Yerevan: 2008/4), 156-166 (in Armenian).

examples to one side. Of course the latter may also be considered for transliteration, provided that in the process they are appropriately edited, doctored and 'improved', making them useful in the propaganda wars.

Such alterations and largescale editing were rife during the alphabet changes realized in the Soviet era, and after independence the scholars of the Republic of Azerbaijan had yet another chance to make the required rewritings and editions for 'rectifying' past errors and emissions, ensuring that all the recorded events fell in line with the official guidelines. This magic tool is still being put to the best possible use, coinciding fortunately with a period when scholars have explicit instructions to create anti-Armenian tendencies and a new history and cultural heritage for their homeland. The field was open for the revision of history of the South Caucasus, to eliminate the names of Armenia and Armenians from the historiography of the region, as well as rename Albania as Northern Azerbaijan, Iranian Azerbaijan as Southern Azerbaijan. It was also highly fortunate that, save for a small number of scholars, few of the population could actually read the previously written historical literature originally written down in Persian, then in a variant of Cyrillic. The public has been given no alternative but to accept the new transliterated works as being true to the originals.

Turkey saw a similar situation when its alphabet was changed in 1929 from Perso-Arabic to Latin. This successful process served Turkey in realizing its own anti-Armenian policies and the denial of the 1915 Genocide. The example was adapted and brought to perfection by the Azerbaijani scholars, whose leading light, once again, was Zia Buniatov. The extent of falsifications carried out by Buniatov and his peers over the past 40 years may be seen in some of the following examples:

A—In the translation of *Bondage and Travels*, by the fifteenth-century German traveller Johann Schiltberger, Buniatov has removed most of the references made to the Armenians,[103] the coup de grace being the complete elimination of the last four chapters of the book (63-66) which deal exclusively with the Armenians and their lifestyle.[104]

B—The Baku-born historian and poet Abbas Qoli Bakikhanov composed his historical work *The Heavenly Rose-Garden: The History of Shirvan and*

103 For the distorted version see Johann Schiltberger, *Puteshestviye po Yevrope, Azii i Afrike, s 1394 goda do 1427 g [Travels to Europe, Asia and Africa from 1394 to the Year 1427]*, trans Brun, ed. & introduction Z. Buniatov (Baku: 1984).

104 George A. Bournoutian, 'Rewriting History', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (Fresno: 1992-1993/6), 185-6. See also George Bournoutian, *Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh* (Costa Mesa, CA: 2004). In the appendix of this work

Daghestan (Gulistan-e Eram) in Persian. In 1970 the work was published in the original Persian text in Baku, where Armenia is mentioned many times, including its borders and geographical location. In the Russian translation of the same work in 1991, Buniatov has taken out most of the references to Armenia and Armenians.[105]

Recently the same work has been translated into English by Hasan Javadi and Willem Floor. The last part of this work, the chapter entitled 'Conclusions', contains description of the important achievements of the people of Shirvan, including some fifty pieces of poetry. Comparing Buniatov's own translation, the translators point out:

> Not only he [Buniatov] has not translated any of the poems in the text, but he does not even mention that he has not done so, while he does not translate certain other prose parts of the text without indicating this and why. This is particularly disturbing because he suppresses, for example, the mention of the territory inhabited by Armenians, thus not only falsifying history, but also not respecting Bakikhanov's dictum that a historian should write without prejudice, whether religious, ethnic, political or otherwise.[106]

C—Mirza Qarabaghi's historical opus *Tarikh-e Qarabagh (A History of Karabakh)* was also composed in Persian. On page four of the original manuscript he writes that 'the population of the old town of Barda'a was mainly Armenians and other peoples'.[107] In 1959 the complete manuscript was translated to Azerbaijani-Turkish, in the Cyrillic script, by F. Babayev. In 1989 Nazim Akhundov edited Babayev's work and as a 'scientific editor' ('nauchni redaktor') applied his powers of censorship to the text by taking out most references to the Armenians and Armenia. Here also, as in other rewritten texts, the editor failed to mention that he has abridged the text. For an example of these recompositions see Fig. 47 in the Appendix, where for comparison purposes three versions of parts of the text referring to Barda (the ancient capital of Albania

a number of rewritten and roughly edited transliterations are presented, see pages 265-69. See also G. Abgarian, 'Hayere Shiltbergeri ughegrutyunnerum' [Armenians in Schiltberger's Travesl], *Banber Yerevani Hamalsarani [The Herald of Ye revan Univeristy]* (Yerevan: 1997/2), 103-112.

105 Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *Gyulistani Iram [The Heavenly Rose Gard e n]*, edited and commentary by Zia Buniatov (Baku: 1991) (in Russian).

106 Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *The Heavenly Rose-Garden: A History of Shirvan and Daghestan*, trans. Hasan Javadi & Willem Floor (Washington DC: 2009), XVI.

107 Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi, *Tarikh-e Qarabagh*, MS, Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences, 1840-1847, MS no. B712/11603 (in Persian).

and the main city of Arran) are reproduced: the original manuscript, Babayev's 1959 translation and Akhundov's 1989 doctored version.[108]

D—Esai Hasan Jalaleants's (ca. 1665-1728) *A Brief History of the Aghvank [Albania] Region* was edited by Buniatov and published in Baku in 1989, where he presented the author, an Armenian catholicos, as being an 'Albanian historian', and then proceeded to make alterations in the text, removing key mentions of the Armenians. The Armenian-American historian George Bournoutian has translated the work into English and has commented on the alterations and deletions made by Buniatov.[109]

A very typical example of this textual alteration is the statement, according to the author of the original work, that the aim of the 10,000-strong army gathered by King Vakhtang VI of Georgia during the early eighteenth century was the re-establishment of the Armenian kingdom:

> … [he] organized them according to the military manners, for they were not trained in military ways, gathered 10,000 choice armed men, together with an assembly of priests and our servants, and with great pomp and festivities to restore the Armenian Kingdom, we moved.[110]

Buniatov did not agree with Jalaleants's text and in his version he has changed the 'Armenian Kingdom' to 'Albanian Kingdom'.[111]

*

Utilizing the highly developed superfast technology of today, the rulers of Azerbaijan are continuing to flood the field with so much rewritten and fabricated history such as Buniatov's work that the huge quantity of the literature reflecting reality becomes insignificant in comparison. The aim is to replace quality with quantity until such time that invented and unfounded fabrications would become the accepted norm and hence, the generally accepted truth.

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108 See Fig. 47 of the Appendix. Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi, *Qarabagh Tarikhi [A History of Karabagh]*, trans. N. Akhundov (*Karabaghnameler [Histories of Karabagh]*), (Baku: 1989), 108. See also Bournoutian, *Two Chronicles*,op. cit., 185-191.

109 Catholicos Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *A Brief History of the Aghvank Region: A History of Karabakh and Ganje from 1702-1723*, trans. and annotated George Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA., 2009).

110 Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *A Brief History of the Aghvank Region* (Jerusalem: 1868), 48. The translation is by George Bournoutian.

111 See the Russian translation of the book: Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *Kratkaya istoriya strany Albanskoj [A Short History of Albania]*, trans. Ter-Grigorian, ed. Z. Buniatov (Baku: 1989), 35.

2 Azerbaijan's intentions towards its neighbours

'One should protect one's own history
and fight for it by tooth and claw,
as others will always try to change it'
—William Dalrymple

Forming the Azerbaijani ethnos

Alexandre Bennigsen (1913-1988), a France-based specialist in the Muslim population of the Tsarist Empire and Soviet Russia, noted:

> A pre-revolutionary Muslim, nomad or peasant, had absolutely no consciousness of belonging to a particular nation such as Turkmen, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Kazakh, or Karakalpak. The same may be said about the Volga Tatars or the Azeris. Even the names 'Azeri' or 'Tatar' were not applied this way before the Revolution. The Volga Tatars called themselves 'Turks', 'Bulgars', or simply 'Muslims'; the Azeris called themselves 'Turks'. So, for the public, the uniting bond was Islam.[1]

In a separate work, co-authored with Enders Wimbush, Bennigsen adds:

> The Azeris are an old sedentary nation which, with some rare exceptions, has preserved none of its tribal and clan traditions. However, they are not yet completely 'consolidated' as a nation.[2]

As we have seen, in 1918 when the country north of Arax River became

1 Alexandre Bennigsen, 'Islam or Local Consciousness among Soviet Nationalities', *Soviet Nationalities Problems*, ed. Edward Allworth (Cambridge: 1971), 175.

2 Alexandre Bennigsen & Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire: A Guide* (Bloomington: 1986), 136.

independent, it chose to be called the 'Republic of Azerbaijan'.[3] In this manner, by a stroke of the pen the local populations, who, until then were commonly known by the names 'Tatar', 'Turk' or simply 'Muslim', in May 1918 officially became 'Azerbaijanis'. In practice this naming was foreign and irrelevant for the locals, which is evident from the fact that until 1936 they never called themselves 'Azerbaijanis'. For two decades these people continued using the term 'Turk' for their ethnic origins, which the Azerbaijani researchers also confirm.[4] The archaeologist A. K. Alekparov draws attention to this in Research in the History and Ethnography of Azerbaijan:

> The term 'Azerbaijani' began to be used after the year 1936. Prior to this date the population of our land called themselves 'Turk', a name which now is applied to the members of the anti-revolutionary pan-Turkist party.[5]

The same author goes on to confirm that it took some years for the country to come to terms with using its new designation.[6] Obviously this has not prevented the present population from believing in Azerbaijan's 5,000 years plus of continuous history in the region,[7] part of which is the teaching that in 1813/1828, during the Russo-Persian wars, for a period of hundred years or so the millennia-old state lost its independence only to regain it in 1918:

> The collapse of the Azerbaijani Safavid state in the first half of the eighteenth century was accompanied by the emergence of independent and semi-independent entities, the khanates and sultanates, in the middle of the eighteenth century. The occupation of these entities by Russia under the treaties of Gulustan (1813) and Turkmanchay (1828) suspended the centuries-old independent Azerbaijani statehood for about 100 years.[8]

The compiler attempts to prove that the Safavid kings of Iran and those

3 Barthold, op. cit., vol. 2, 703. See also Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918* (Los Angeles: 1967), 189.
4 Kave Bayat, op. cit., 45-47.
5 Alesker Kyazim Alekparov, *Issledovanie po arkheologii i etnografii Azerbaidjana [Research in the History and Ethnography of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1960), 71.
6 Ibid.
7 Tale Haydarov & Taleh Baghirov (eds), *Azerbaijan:* 100 *Questions Answered* (Baku: 2008), 21. See also Tamara Dragadze (ed.), *Azerbaijan* (London: 2000), 18-19.
8 Kamala Imranli (compiler), *War Against Azerbaijan: Targeting Cultural Heritage* (Baku: 2008), 7.

preceding them were in fact all Northern Azerbaijanis and it was this Azerbaijan that lost its independence during the 1813/1828 wars, regaining it in 1918. This imaginary historiography reaches such levels that it implies that the treaty of 1828 with Russia was signed and the territory was ceded to Russia not by the Iranian Qajars, but by the Azerbaijani kings, i.e. if, as they say, Azerbaijan was independent, then such a treaty could only be signed between Russia and Azerbaijan.

The maps of medieval times generally did not show borders but did show names of the nations and peoples living in a given region, since this method was deemed to be closer to reality—the drawing of borders on maps came about during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It must also be noted that during ancient and medieval times, lands, countries and regions were mostly named after the people who lived in the region, yet in Azerbaijan it worked in reverse order; some 18-20 years after naming the country with a name borrowed from its neighbouring province, its people came to be called 'Azerbaijanis'.

In *The Peoples of the USSR*, the ethnographer Ronald Wixman makes the following comment regarding the Azerbaijanis:

> Although the Azerbaidzhans [sic] speak a Turkic language they are of mixed Turkic, Iranian, and Caucasian ethnic background. The Azerbaidzhans are still in the process of assimilating the Moslem Tati, Talysh, Kurds, Shahdag peoples, Udis, and southern Daghestani (Lezgins, Avars and Tsakhurs) residing in the Azerbaidzhan SSR, and the Ingiloi (Shiite Muslim Georgians) in adjacent areas of the Georgian SSR.[9]

Even during the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers of 1934, the Russian writer I. Kulik, in his speech on the exchange of information amongst the writers of the various republics of the USSR, calls the people of Azerbaijan 'Turks', which was the generally accepted term amongst the scholars.[10]

In April of 2009 the present author published *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination*, where the problems of Albanian-Azerbaijani-Turkish ethnicity and the use of various terms such as

9 Ronald Wixman, *The Peoples of the USSR: An Ethnographic Handbook* (New York: 1984), 17. Wixman's other works include *Language Aspects of Ethnic Patterns and Processes in the North Caucasus* (1980), and *Ethnic Nationalism in the Caucasus* (1982).

10 *Pervij Vsesoyuznyj sezd sovetskikh pisatelej: Stenograficheskij otcheot [The First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers: Stenographic Report]* (Moscow: 1934), 43.

'Tatar', 'Turk and 'Muslim' for the population of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan was discussed.[11] Six months after this publication, on August 8, an article appeared in *Zerkalo*, the Russian-language newspaper of Baku, addressing the same question. Written by Farid Alekperli, director of the Institute of History of the Azerbaijani National Academy of Sciences, it makes for startling reading:

> Up to Stalin's reforms of the 1930s the name 'Azerbaijani' simply did not exist and this name was given to the region by the will of Stalin, since, until 1936 the name given to the population of the [shortlived] 1918-1920 Republic of Azerbaijan and later, Soviet Azerbaijan, officially was 'Turk'... Losing our ethnic identity we were daunted with debates as to who we are, are we the heirs of the Sumerians, Albanians, Medes or some others? These pointless and extended debates have had and will have no ending as long as we do not stand on the platform of reality and have not realized that our real ethnos is hidden under the artificial and faceless name of 'Azerbaijani', which in fact originates from the Turks, as well as the Kurds, Talysh, Tats, Lezgins and others.[12]

Alekparli's bold claims clearly go against the grain of present-day Azerbaijani historiography and ethnography, and particularly that of Igrar Aliyev (1924-2004), the previous director of the Institute of History. In his study *A Glance at the History of Atropatene*, Aliyev stresses that the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan has no relationship to the Turkish tribes but is the heir of the Medes, Albanians and other tribes who moved to the territory from Iranian Azerbaijan.[13] Such contradictory remarks serve as proof of the underlying confusion, even in academic circles, over this question of ethnic origin.

The considerable part of the output on the history of the Soviet and independent Republic of Azerbaijan is aimed at proving that they are the heirs of the indigenous Albanians. It is a theory, however, that has its pitfalls, including complicating the relationship with Azerbaijan's best friend and ally in the

11 Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History, Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination*, Second edition (London & Yerevan: 2010), 10-11.

12 Farid Alekberli, 'Kto my, ot kogo proizoshli i kuda idyom' ['Who are we, where do we come from and where are we going?'] (Baku: *Zerkalo*, 8 August, 2009). See also Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination*, 2nd edn (London & Yerevan: 2010), 28.

13 Igrar Aliyev, op. cit., 25-30. See also the Persian translation of the same work, translated by Fereidun Joneidi (Tehran: 1999), 59-73.

region, Turkey, who looks to Azerbaijan as a committed member of the pan-Turkist club of nations.[14] In the early twenty-first century, therefore, Turkey sees no advantage in defending Azerbaijanis as Albanians—they can only have Turkish ancestry. Losing the support of a key ally such as Turkey would have its consequences for the Republic of Azerbaijan, particularly regarding regional strategy and politics. In order to prevent such an undesirable development with Turkey or any other Turkic ally, the Azerbaijani authorities and scholars have adopted a highly elastic policy of presenting themselves also as being the descendants of Asiatic Turkish tribes and thus, related to the peoples of Turkey as well.

Aziz Alakbarli's *The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan*, published in 2007 (in English, French and German), serves the purpose of uniting the Azerbaijanis with the Central Asian Oghuz Turks, while also laying claim to the Armenian monuments existing in present-day Armenia. Copies of the above-mentioned books were distributed free to the public at the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair as well as sent to major libraries, universities and political think-tanks all over the world. The beginning of the volume includes a map of the Republic of Armenia, with the legend: 'The map of Western Azerbaijan—presently "the Republic of Armenia"—the homeland of the Turks and ancient Oghuz.'[15]

With the above description Alakbarli states from the outset that the ancestors of the Azerbaijanis are the Oghuz Turks, who for centuries have been established in South Caucasus, thus further strengthening the republic of Azerbaijan's relationship with Turkey. The end result is that as the Azerbaijanis are reluctant to be disassociated from the region of the South Caucasus, they assert that the Oghuz Turks are 'indigenous' to the region. Thus, if the Oghuz Turks and the Caucasian Albanians were neighbours, they then could claim to have both Albanian and Turkish ancestry. This purpose is clearly served by another book, *Azerbaijan and Turkey: One Nation, Two States*, written by Nariman Qurbanov, the aim of which is self-evident from the title.[16]

The assertion that Turks are indigenous to the South Caucasus and Asia Minor follows the claims made through the historiography and politics of Turkey.[17] In fact this is a field where the political propaganda promoted by

14 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (London: 1995), 7, 14-18.
15 Aziz Alakbarli, *Les Monuments d'Azerbaijan Ouest [The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 2007), 7.
16 Nariman Qurbanov, op. cit.
17 See Ziya Gokalp, *Turk Medeniyeti Tarihi* (1925) (in Turkish).

both countries coincides fully. For example, in the history textbooks of Turkey, as well as those of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the name Armenia is altogether eliminated from all the maps depicting the South Caucasus, as it was from Urartian times of 800 BCE until 1918, while the name Azerbaijan is marked on the territories of Armenia, as well as on most of eastern Transcaucasia and north-western Iran.

So, as circumstances dictate, the Azerbaijanis either claim heredity from the Christian Caucasian Albanians or from the 'indigenous' Oghuz Turkish tribes—in defiance of the fact that the Turkish tribes from Central Asia did not reach the South Caucasus before the ninth and tenth centuries, while continuing to insist that the Oghuz are indigenous to the region of the South Caucasus.[18]

Specifically, the justification for Albanian inheritance and origin is put forward for the purpose of distancing the Armenians from the region, thus making it possible to claim ownership of the profusion of extant medieval churches and monasteries, as well as the ancient ruins, monuments and khachkars (stone crosses) in the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Karabagh.

In order to confirm the existence of Azerbaijan as an ancient country and surmise that Azerbaijan and Albania are one and the same, in most of their literature related to the Caucasian Albania, Azerbaijani historians often replace the name Albania with Azerbaijan, indirectly influencing the reader to think that these two refer to the same country.[19]

Yet, as Wixman and almost every unbiased western scholar states, the population of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan has been formed and influenced by all the conquerors and hordes that have passed through the region, such as the Seljuks, Mongols, Arabs, other Central Asian tribal groups, as well as the local tribes, Iranian Azerbaijanis, Persians and others.[20] Furthermore, Strabo, writing before our era, states that Albania was populated by 26 tribes, who speak different languages,[21] a description supported by the likes of Pliny, Gervase of Tilbury and Ranulf Higden.

A driving part of the reasoning behind Azerbaijani non-acceptance of the diversity of both their origin and their present ethnic mix is that, should this in fact be permitted to be accepted, then it will rob them of their claim to be

18 Imranli, op. cit., 8-19, etc.

19 Buniatov, *Historical Geography of Azerbaijan* (1987), 88, 93, etc.

20 One example is Nicholas Awde & Fred James Hill (eds), *The Azerbaijanis* (London: 2009), 11.

21 Strabo, *Geography*, trans. H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library series (London: 1928-2000), chapter 11.4.6.

an ancient and monolithic state—in particular, the owners of a unique heritage. Accepting that the present-day Azerbaijanis are of a mixed race and heritage means that they cannot lay claim to the ownership of a unique heritage, and their history and heritage, including the ancient and medieval monuments, will become the heritage of their constituent races and peoples. The cultural heritage of such an ethnic mix could not be named 'Azerbaijani culture, which has endured the passage of many centuries', this being the main aim and obsessive goal of the Azerbaijani authorities. Considering the abovementioned attitude of Azerbaijani scholars, it seems that the problem of their ethnicity has become both fixed and pliable, affected by the political whim and decisions of their ruling authorities.

*

According to Persian historians and linguists, until the Middle Ages the languages spoken in the region were not called 'Turkish' but were known under the general regional term 'Azeri' or 'Azerbaijani', which the Iranian linguist Walter Henning (1908-1967) confirms in his article 'The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan'.[22] These languages were not Turkic but various dialects related to Middle Persian (Pahlavi) which today are either extinct or rarely used.

The historian and geographer Ibn Hawqal in his geographical work composed in 978 CE entitled *Surat al-Ard (The Face of the Earth)* concurs:

> In Azerbaijan and certain areas of Armenia the spoken language is Persian, but many are also conversant in Arabic. ... In diverse regions of Armenia, including Nakhichevan and Dabil [Dvin] they speak a dialect which is similar to Armenian. In Khlat [one of the cities of Armenia] they speak three languages: Arabic, Persian and Armenian.[23]

Writing about the South Caucasus, this Arab geographer and chronicler makes no mention of the Turkish language in any of his works, since that language was yet to be introduced into the region.

The later Syrian historian Yaqut al-Hamawi (1179-1229) in his *Mu'jam al-Buldan (Dictionary of Countries)* describes a great many cities and regions of the world. Regarding the Iranian province of Azerbaijan and the language spoken there, he has the following to say:

22 Walter Bruno Henning, 'The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan', *Transactions of the Philological Society, 1954* (Oxford: 1955), 157-177.
23 Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard*, trans. A. Sho'ar (Tehran: 1966), 96 (in Persian).

> This land has an excellent climate; the men are fair and handsome, with rosy complexion and delicate skin. They have a language called Azari, which is understood by no one except themselves.[24]

The Persian historian and geographer Hamdallah Mostowfi al-Qazvini (1341-1249) in his *Nozhat al-Qolub (Heart's Bliss)* provides distinct descriptions of the provinces and their peoples and customs. Of the city of Maragha in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan he says: 'The locals are fair-skinned, belong to an orthodox Islamic sect and speak in a dialect of the Pahlavi language.'[25]

The Iranian linguist Abdol Ali Karang in *Tati and Harzani: Two Ancient Dialects of Azerbaijan* states that in ancient times the language spoken in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan was called Azari.[26] He then continues comparing them with the Armenians of New Julfa, near Esfahan, who have still preserved the Armenian language spoken by their ancestors, and comments:

> Armenian is a developed and written language and, due to its publications and literature, continues to remain a living language. On the other hand, the old dialects spoken in Azerbaijan, which were known under the collective name 'Azari' and belonged to the Aryan [Indo-European] family of languages, not having a scientific and literary base and literature, like many similar dialects came under the influence of other languages and gradually disappeared, joining the numbers of dead languages.[27]

This ancient language of Iranian Azerbaijan, which Western linguists term Azari, is the dialect of a language whose roots lie in the early medieval language spoken by the Medes. Some dialects of this Azari language are still spoken in a few Iranian villages and regions. The Tati language is spoken in the villages of Karingan, Arzin, Kilasur, Margar and Dizmar in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, located between the city of Tabriz and the River Arax. The Harzani language is spoken west of these villages, in the village of Gelin-Ghiye. Both of these languages are dialects of the old Azari.[28]

24 Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, trans. A. Monzawi, vol. 1 (Tehran: 2001), 160 (in Persian).
25 Hamdallah Mostowfi, *Nozhat al-Qolub*, trans. Dabir-Siaghi (Tehran: 2002), 135 (in Persian).
26 Abdol Ali Karang, *Tati and Harzani: Two Ancient Dialects of Azerbaijan* (Tabriz: 1954), 10 (in Persian).
27 Ibid., 24.
28 Ibid., 25, 27-35.

The orientalist Vladimir Minorsky (1877-1966) in his *Studies in Caucasian History* translated and analysed the section related to the tenth-eleventh century Shaddadi Turkic tribes, found in the Ottoman historian Munajjim-Bashi's *History of Shirvan and Daghestan*. Here Minorsky notes:

> The original sedentary population of Azarbayjan consisted of a mass of peasants and at the time of the Arab conquest was comprised under the semi-contemptuous term of uluj ('non-Arabs')—somewhat similar to the ra'ya of the Ottoman Empire. The only arms of this peaceful rustic population were slings (see Tabari, III, 1379-89). They spoke a number of dialects (Adhari, Talishi) of which even now there remain some islets surviving amidst the Turkish-speaking population.[29]

Richard Frye and Patrick Jackson, two American specialists in Iranian languages, confirm that Azari was one of the Iranian dialects.[30] More recently Garnik Asatryan, director of the Centre of Iranology at Yerevan University, has also studied the Iranian Azari language, today considered almost extinct.[31]

On the ethnicity itself of the Azerbaijanis, the British Caucasian specialists Nicholas Awde and Fred James Hill have the following theory:

> Adding to the dynamism of Azerbaijan's past are the countless nomadic peoples and warlike tribes that took advantage of the busy migratory route from the northern steppes that ran southwards along the western shores of the Caspian down into Iran. Such a past is reflected in the present-day inhabitants of the Republic of Azerbaijan, who are themselves descendants of the various Turkic, Iranian and Caucasian peoples that have inhabited the region.[32]

Turaj Atabaki, an Iranian historian at the University of Leiden, referring to various sources, writes:

29 Vladimir Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (Cambridge: 1957), 112.

30 *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 6*, ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge: 1986), 950.

31 Garnik Asatryan, 'Zametki ob Azari, ischeznushem yazikem Azerbaidjana' ['Article on Azari, the Extinct Language of Azerbaijan'], *K osveshcheniyu problem istorii kultury Albanii i Vostochnykh Provintsii Armenii [On the Clarification of the Problems of the Cultural History of Albania and Eastern Provinces of Armenia]* (Yerevan: 1991), vol. 1, 484-492.

32 Nicholas Awde & Fred James Hill (eds), *The Azerbaijanis: People, Culture and History*(London: 2009), 11.

> The Turkic language entered the region of Azerbaijan as a result of the great migration of Turks into Asia Minor in the eleventh century. 'The first group of Oghuz consisting of about 2,000 tents arrived in 1029 and they were well received by [the ruler] Vahsudan' [Frye, 1975].[33]

Regarding the language brought by these south-western Turkic tribes, Atabaki explains:

> The language which these newcomers brought with them was that of the south-western (Oghuz) group of Turkic languages. The new language, though strongly influenced by its close encounter with the indigenous Azeri [Azari]—the language spoken in Azerbaijan prior to the Turkish invasion—gradually replaced the latter and came to be the dominant language of Azerbaijan.[34]

And, according to the Tabriz-born Iranian-Azerbaijani historian and linguist Ahmad Kasravi:

> Immediately prior to the reign of the Safavids in Iran, in the province of Azerbaijan, the Turkish language was replacing the local Azeri [Azari] dialect. The proof of this is the Safavids, who being Iranian Azerbaijanis had already began to use the Turkish language as a replacement for the Azeri, and it was only the founding father of the family, Sheikh Sefi, who wrote poetry in Azeri, of which a few samples have reached us. When Shah Ismail established the Safavid dynasty, their official language already was Turkish.[35]

In his latest study on Caucasian tribes and their history, the Iranian historian Roghiyye Behzad also expresses the same opinion.[36] The sixth volume of *The Cambridge History of Iran*, in the section regarding the language and the culture of Timurid and the Safavid periods of Iran (1335-1736), confirms the same

33 Atabaki, op. cit., 9. See also Richard Frye, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 4* (Cambridge: 1975), 238.
34 Atabaki, op. cit., 9-10.
35 Ahmad Kasravi, 'Azeri or the Ancient Language of Iranian Azerbaijan', *Collected Works, 78 Articles and Speeches* (Tehran: 1972), 333 (in Persian).
36 Roghiyye Behzad, *The Ancient Tribes in the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasus, Mesopotamia and the Region of the Fertile Crescent* (Tehran: 2005), 116-118 (in Persian).

theory.[37] The Iranian linguist Enayatollah Reza (1920-2010) also wrote extensively on the language, history and religion of Arran (Caucasian Albania) and Azerbaijan. Having studied the local languages used in various villages and areas there, he again confirms the above hypothesis.[38]

The history of Arran and Azerbaijan in recent years has been very much at the centre of a surge in recent years of literature published in Iran. These, however, are in Persian and not easily accessible to international specialists, libraries or the public. Some of these studies are listed in the footnote below.[39]

The Turkic tribes arriving in the region in the wake of the Mongols became the conquering rulers of the provinces south of the Caucasus. It was during the rule of these newcomers that the indigenous languages gave way to the language of the rulers, the Turks. Added confirmation comes in the shape of recent DNA research carried out on the indigenous population of Iranian Azerbaijanis which has revealed that only eight percent have a genetic connection with the Turks of Central Asia, results that have led the authors of the study to conclude:

> Accordingly the imposition of the Turkish language in this region was realized predominantly by a limited number of invaders who left only a weak genetic signal in the modern populations of the region.[40]

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By the third quarter of the nineteenth century the intellectuals of Shirvan (most of the area of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan) came to realize that without a written form their language would not endure, which compelled Mirza Kazimbeg to create a variant of the Arabic script for written Azerbaijani-Turkish. This was gradually used in the local schools and it was Mirza Fathali Akhundov (1812-1878) who, during the last years of his life,

37 *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 6*, op. cit., 951-954.

38 Enayatollah Reza, *Arran from Ancient Times until the Period of the Mongols* (Tehran: 2003), 179-274 (in Persian).

39 Parviz Varjavand, *Iran and the Caucasus, Arran and Shirvan* (Tehran: 1999); Roghiyye Behzad, *The Oldest Races in the Caucasus, Transcaucasus, Mesopotamia and the Fertile Crescent* (Tehran: 2005); Abbasali Javadi, *Azerbaijan and Its Language: The Problem of Azeri-Turkish in Iran* (USA: 1989); Ahmad Khalilullahi, *Where Is the Real Azerbaijan and What Are the Azeri Language and History?* (Bonn: 2008); Enayatollah Reza, *Arran and Azerbaijan. Caucasian Albania* (Tehran: 1982, etc), reprinted many times and translated into Armenian and Russian (all in Persian).

40 L. Andonian, S. Rezaie et al, 'Iranian Azeri Y-Chromosomal Diversity in the Context of Turkish-Speaking Population of the Middle East', *Iranian Journal of Public Health* (Tehran: 2011/1), 119-127.

wrote the first plays in Azerbaijani-Turkish, using the newly introduced script.[41]

As for the Albanian script, according to the medieval historian Koriun, Mesrop Mashtots, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, during the fifth century, invented a 52-letter alphabet for the Albanian language.[42] Unfortunately only a few samples of the Albanian script had survived until 1996, when two Georgian palimpsests were discovered at St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, written over old Albanian manuscripts which were rubbed out for re-use.[43] It is curious that in order to decipher the text scholars have used the present-day Udi language, yet they call the discovered text 'Albanian' and not 'Udi'.[44] The Azerbaijani historian Farida Mamedova claims that there was a 'rich and varied uniquely Albanian written culture', yet there are only a few pages of manuscript and some stone inscriptions to prove its existence, which could hardly have been widespread. In her introduction and the English summary of *The Political and Historical Geography of Caucasian Albania*, Mamedova states that for her research she has used Albanian, Georgian and Armenian sources.[45] The book in question is a small volume but boasts an impressive 466 items in its bibliography section, and one would think that, as per the author's claim, there would be at least some Albanian sources. But an analysis of Mamedova's sources presents the following picture:

- 160 titles of Armenian sources, from Khorenatsi up to the present time.
- 105 titles of Russian sources, mainly from the Soviet era.
- 91 titles of Azerbaijani sources, all from the Soviet era.
- 47 titles of Georgian sources.
- 33 titles of West European sources.
- 21 titles of Graeco-Roman classics.
- 7 titles of Communist ideology, Marx, Lenin, etc.
- 2 titles of Arab and Persian sources, in translation.

41 Tale Haydarov & Taleh Baghirov, op. cit., 103. See also Victor Shnirelman, *The Value of the Past*, 80-82.

42 Koriun, *The Life of Mashtots* (Yerevan: 1981), 288-299.

43 J. Gippert, W. Schulze, Z. Aleksidze & J.-P. Mahé (eds), *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai* (Brepols: 2009).

44 Hranush Kharatyan, *Apostle Yeghishe, Grigoris and the Christianization of Albania: On the Occasion of the Publication of the Interpretation of the Caucasian-Albanian Ancient Palimpsest*, critical essay (2011).

45 Farida Mamedova, *Politicheskaya istoriya i istoricheskaya geografiya Kavkazskoj Albanii [The Political History and Historical Geography of Caucasian Albania]* (Baku: 1986).

In spite of the author's claims, inexplicably no Albanian sources are referred to.[46] Could it be that the 'Albanian sources' are imaginary ones? This is the quality of the so called 'scientific' and 'scholarly' propaganda literature produced by the majority of academicians of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The lack of written material in Albanian is described by some scholars as the result of the destruction of all written and/or carved material by the Arabs and the Armenians, as well as the armenicisation of written Albanian by the local Armenians.[47] On the other hand, these are the same historians who insist that prior to 1828 no Armenians lived in the territory of 'historical Azerbaijan', i.e. Albania. If, as per the Azerbaijani credo, in medieval times there were no Armenians living in the region, then how was the culture of a whole nation destroyed and who were the perpetrators?

Turning to the Armenian language, Igrar Aliyev, a historian and former director of the Institute of History of Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences, makes the following linguistic claim: 'The source of the old Armenian language is the language and dialect of the Medes who lived in the present-day Southern Azerbaijan before our era.'[48]

In the first instant, Aliyev's claim above asserts that in ancient Azerbaijan the language spoken was that of the Medes, which certainly was not Turkish, as claimed by some others. On the other hand he refers to the work of Anahid Perikhanian, who in one of her articles states that nine lines of script discovered during 1965 in Zangezur, Armenia, are written in a hitherto unknown dialect of Median, based on which she has shown how a number of Median words have been borrowed by the Armenian, Parthian and Pahlavi languages.[49] These constitute the 'proof' presented by Aliyev for claiming that Median is the source of the old Armenian language.

The terminology of Western, Southern and Northern Azerbaijan

One of the aims of the Azerbaijani scholars and authorities is to prove the reality of the terms Southern Azerbaijan and Northern Azerbaijan, a reality that is supposed to be centuries old. These invented terminologies have been in use for more than 50 years, targeting the annexation of the Iranian province of

46 Ibid., bibliography section.
47 Tamara Dragadze, *Azerbaijan* (London: 2000), 138. See also Imranli, op. cit., 18.
48 Igrar Aliyev, op. cit., 53.
49 Anahit Perikhanian, 'Armyanskaya nadpis iz Zangezura' ['An Armenian Inscription from Zangezur'], *Patmabanasirakan Handes [Historical Philological Journal]* (Yerevan: 1965/4), 107-128.

Azerbaijan with the Republic of Azerbaijan. After post-Soviet independence, use of the terms and acceptance of them has become commonplace, meaning that this example of Azerbaijani propaganda has partially succeeded, at least so far as the nation's public is concerned. According to some, the terminology came into use after the treaties of Gulistan and Turkmanchay that separated the region,[50] but Buniatov has another theory which claims these terms are not 180-190 years old but rather 1,500 years:

> According to collections of historical maps, since the sixth century CE the name Azerbaijan could be used for both Northern and Southern Azerbaijans. During the sixth century the Sassanid king Khosrow Anushirvan created the 'Caucasian Knot' group of countries, called 'Abdulbadahan' [sic.] or, according to the Arab-Persian tradition, 'Azerbaijan', which, among others, included the countries of Northern Azerbaijan or Arran and Southern Azerbaijan or Atropatene. According to the Arab and Persian sources, since the age of the Caliphate and onwards, i.e. the eighth century, the name 'Azerbaijan' came to be understood as both Northern and Southern Azerbaijan, and refers to their administrative, geographical or political systems.[51]

In this single paragraph from Buniatov there are a number of primitive errors:

1. Islam appeared during the seventh century and according to the Arabs, the period before the appearance of the Quran is called the Jahiliyyah, or 'Age of Ignorance'. The earliest written Arabic texts are poems dating from the end of the seventh century. It is not known from where Buniatov and his friends have discovered these sixth-century sources, particularly the geographical ones. The oldest Islamic historical or geographical document dates from the ninth century, hence the maps mentioned by Buniatov are those prepared by himself and can hardly be used as a basis for his arguments. As regards other maps of the period, no western map from that period shows Azerbaijan, which was then unknown to western cartography.
2. In his second sentence he intentionally distorts the name Atropatene or Atorpatkan into 'Abdulbadahan', a name unfamiliar to Arab (and

50 Tamara Dragadze, ed., op. cit., 22. See also Tale Haydarov, op. cit., 26; and Nicholas Awde & Fred James Hill, op. cit., 12.

51 Buniatov, ed., 1987, op. cit., 5. See also J. Guliyev, *Istoriya Azerbaidjana [The History of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1979), 29 etc.

probably any other) sources. In either case, it was the Iranian province by the name Atropatene that was known to historians since the dawn of our era.

3. In Islamic documentation that has reached us since the ninth century, particularly the geographical works of Balkhi, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, al-Mas'udi, al-Idrisi, al-Qazvini and others, the territory north of the Rivers Kura and Arax is named 'Arrân', ie. Albania, and that south of the river is named 'Azerbaijan'. In the old and medieval Islamic literature the terms Northern and Southern Azerbaijan or any words to that effect have never existed. (For details of these assertions refer to Chapter Five.)
4. Basing his theories upon his own inventions, Buniatov tries to impose the political and administrative statehood of Azerbaijan upon a territory stretching from Derbend to Hamadan.

To have created such a distortion, Buniatov must have been highly knowledgeable about the true facts presented in the Islamic historical and geographical works, and it is because of this that such actions are shocking and inexcusable for an academician of such standing. To any fellow specialist in the field, it is perfectly obvious that Buniatov's theories could only have been created to serve a political agenda.

Both Buniatov and Mamedova insist that the area of Albania remained unchanged from the first century BCE until the eighth century CE, and that it covered almost all of the territory of the present-day Republic of Armenia including the regions of Siunik, Sevan, Yerevan, Echmiadzin, as well as Nakhichevan, Artsakh, Qabala, Shaki, Cambusena, southern Georgia and the north-western regions of Iran.[52] During a conference entitled 'The Ethnocultural Heritage of Caucasian Albania', which took place in 2001 in Baku, in her presentation Mamedova further extended the above period from third century BCE to the eighth.[53] As on previous occasions, her references were to her own specially designed maps of the region.

52 Farida Mamedova, 'O nekotorykh voprosakh istoricheskoj geografii Albanii I v. do n.e.-VIII v.' ['On some Questions concerning the Historical Geography of Albania from the First Century BC to the Eighth Century'], *Istoricheskaya geografiya Azerbaidjana*. ed. Z. Buniatov (Baku: Izdatelstvo Elm, 1987) 7-8. See also V. Shnirelman, op. cit., 165-171.

53 Farida Mamedova, '*Ob istoricheskoe geografii Kavkazskoj Albanii, Armenii i albanskom etnose [On the Historical Geography of Caucasian Albania, Armenia and Albanian Ethnicity]*, www.bakililar.az/ca/photos/farida/html, 2001, and http://www.bakililar.az/ca/eng/news/news8_eng.html.

The Azerbaijani academician Igrar Aliyev regularly refers to the territories of Southern and Northern Azerbaijans, using the terminology in order to give them the required legitimacy.[54] He sets out to prove that the forefathers of the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan are the Medes and the Iranian Azerbaijanis. He also mentions that according to Islamic historians, the languages and dialects spoken in Southern/Iranian Azerbaijan during the early medieval period were Azari, Pahlavi and Persian. In the following paragraphs he continues: 'According to Mas'udi the language of Southern Azerbaijan was Azari', adding the adjective 'Southern' to Mas'udi's written text. Not content with this rewriting, he adds that 'the Arab geographers Ibn Hawqal, Yaqut and Baladhuri are also of the same opinion', in contradiciton of the fact that in the works of all these scholars the terminology 'Southern' or 'Northern Azerbaijan' is not to be found.[55]

In the Appendix of this volume are Islamic maps of the region encompassing the north-western provinces of Iran. On all these maps the naming and location of the countries of Albania (Arran), Azerbaijan and Armenia can clearly be seen in the geography of the region and relative to each other. As noted above, in Islamic geography and cartography the names of 'Southern' or 'Northern' Azerbaijan are non-existent, a fact that can be demonstrated for all maps and literature prepared up to the twentieth century either by Islamic or other mapmakers.

Regrettably it should be noted that some western historians have now fallen into the trap and used these invented names in their works, while using the inventors of this terminology as their sources. One of these victims is the American historian Audrey Altstadt, who uses Buniatov's assertion concerning the use of Southern and Northern Azerbaijans in 'sixth-century' Arab literature as follows:

> The idea of Azerbaijan ... is correctly used with respect to the territories of Northern and Southern Azerbaijan beginning with the sixth century. ... According to Arabic and Persian sources ... from the eighth century, both Northern and Southern Azerbaijan were understood by the name Azerbaijan.[56]

As previously pointed out, any historian knows that no Arabic historical

54 Igrar Aliyev, op. cit., 9, 42, 59.
55 Ibid., 27.
56 Altstadt, op. cit., 3.

literature existed prior to the eight century and that it follows that there can simply be no history book dating from the sixth to early eighth centuries. Regarding geographical literature of specifically regions outside Arabia, the earliest Arabic book dates from the ninth century. The question therefore arises: to which works do Altstadt and her source refer? It is hardly excusable that, in carrying out her research, the former has used mostly secondary Azerbaijani and Russian sources, which are translations from the originals—and we have seen what the Azerbaijani translations and transliterations can do to the original texts.[57]

Atabaki, who is of Iranian Azerbaijani origin, has the following to say regarding this question:

> Another example which demonstrates the attempt to exploit simple geographical terms in order to invent historical legitimacy is the use, in certain intellectual circles both in Iranian Azerbaijan and in the former Soviet Azerbaijan, of phrases such as Shumali (northern) and Junubi (southern) Azerbaijan, to designate the regions north and south of the Araxes River. It is obvious that what lies behind this choice of terminology is the desire to proclaim the cultural homogeneity in both geographical areas, with the implied call for unification of Iranian Azerbaijan with the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan.[58]

In order to justify their ownership over the Armenian region of Siunik and Artsakh, Azerbaijani authorities and scholars refer to maps prepared in Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, where the territories of Armenia and Shirvan (Azerbaijan) are shown divided into the Russian provinces of Erivan, Baku and Elizavetpol. The province of Elizavetpol includes Shirvan, Talish, Shamakhi, as well as the Armenian regions of Karabagh (Artsakh), Zangezur and Siunik. However, when these divisions are mentioned by the Azerbaijanis the reasoning behind this unusual division is never discussed.

In fact the main reason was that after the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813, much of the territory north of the River Arax, as listed above, was included in the Russian province of Elizavetpol, while Eastern Armenia, including Erivan (Yerevan) and Alexandropol (Gyumri) were transferred to Russia via the

57 For details see Chapter Three.
58 Touraj Atabaki, op. cit., 2-3. Regarding the above distortions and rewriting see *Azerbaijan Tarikhi (History of Azerbaijan)* (Baku: 1958-1962).

Treaty of Turkmanchay in 1828, some fifteen years later. At this time the Russian administrators did not bother to rearrange the provinces but kept the borders as drawn in 1813. Thus the territory of Armenia proper was divided between the two different administrative provinces[59] (see page 22).

As for the invention of 'Western Azerbaijan', this has been a territory far less clearly defined until very recently. Its boundaries became apparent however when, in 1997, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of the Republic of Azerbaijan published *The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan*, where the map of the Republic of Armenia is shown with the caption 'Western Azerbaijan, the homeland of Oghuz and Turks [sic.], presently occupied by Armenia'. Thus the view of the present-day Azerbaijani authorities has now been clarified, a view that will further be discussed in Chapter Four.

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59 For the Russian administrative divisions see *Hayastani Azgayin Atlas, Hator B [National Atlas of Armenia, Volume 2]* (Yerevan: 2008). See also Arthur Tsutsiyev, *Atlas etnopolicheskoj istorii Kavkaza (1774-2004) [Ethnopolitical Historical Atlas of the Caucasus (1774-2004)]* (Moscow: 2007).

3 On Armenians as newcomers to the Caucasus

'We arrived at Echmiadzin, six leagues from it we saw the Great Mountain. The population of this place is mostly Armenian'
—Gonzales de Clavijo, 1412

None of the Islamic, pre-Soviet and Soviet historians and geographers has ever denied the presence of the Armenians in the regions of Shirvan, Shaki, Shamakhi, Karabagh or any of the regions south of the Caucasus. The dissemination of organized propaganda material denying the Armenians in the Caucasus began after Soviet rule in Azerbaijan and was the result of Stalin's long-term political-cultural planning. The revival of Azerbaijani nationalism was already evident, which the Republic of Azerbaijan since its independence has developed with much fervour and increased efficiency that uses all the modern technological media available today.

In order to refute Azerbaijani claims regarding the Armenians as newcomers to the area, this chapter refers to mainly non-Armenian sources, which are judged to be unbiased, reliable and respected by all international academic circles and communities. Here we shall consider and analyze historical and geographical sources, including the travelogues and journals of travellers and explorers who visited Armenia, Iranian Azerbaijan and the region of Albania during their travels. Some of these have been translated previously into Armenian and published in the *Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians* series. Some of the European travellers' journals and diaries were translated by Hovhannes Hakobian in the 1930s, in a series which was left unfinished. In this volume, as far as possible, the originals of the sources have been used and referred to.

The theory of Armenians as newcomers

As mentioned in the Introduction, since the 1960s there has been a propaganda campaign unleashed by Azerbaijani historians and scholars to prove that the Armenians are newcomers in the area south of the Caucasus, and that they were brought to the region by the Russian army in 1828-29, as well as proving that prior to this date there had never been Armenians residing in the region.

Under the guise of specialist research, the recent book *War Against Azerbaijan* brings Azerbaijani fabrication to its apogee. In the text amongst its many polished but extreme falsifications one notes the following typical example:

> Although the Republic of Armenia does not have an ethnic Azerbaijani population now, its territory was a native land of Azerbaijanis long before the Armenians appeared there for the first time.[1]

This is part of the continuous rhetoric repeated even by the president of Azerbaijan in his New Year address to his nation in 2011.[2] The evidence presented—which even includes hundreds of satellite photos to help the case—has regularly been discussed and exposed.[3] A crucial point is that until the twentieth century there were no people calling themselves Azerbaijanis living in the territory north of the River Arax since prior to 1918 these people as citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan, simply did not exist. The reality was that in Armenia in addition to Armenians there were Tatars, Turks, Kurds and other minorities, as well as Persians and Iranian Azerbaijanis who were all able to move within the Iranian-controlled area without hindrance until the treaties of 1813 and 1828, when most of the Armenian territory, Karabagh and Zangezur was still under Iranian control. During the Soviet years the situation

1 Imranli, op. cit., 265.
2 See pages 43 & 44 of this volume.
3 See Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination* (London & Yerevan, 2009); R. Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps* (London & Yerevan: 2007). Various articles and interviews such as R. Galichian, 'Azerbaijani Handwriting: A Book against Armenian Culture', *Azg Daily*, #103, 31 May, 2008; Hripsime Avetissian 'Maps: Talking Witnesses of Armenian History', *Armenian Companion*, #5 (76), 13 February, 2009; Vincent Lima, 'Rouben Galichian chronicles the invention of Azerbaijan and its History', *The Armenian Reporter*, June 3, 2009, Culture section; Armine Adjemian, 'L'invention de l'Azerbaidjan', *France Arménie*, July 16-31, 2009; and Hasmik Harutunian, 'The Evidence Refutes the Azerbaijani Invented History', *Azg Daily*, #142, July 7; and others.

changed in favour of the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan, who were now called Azerbaijanis, and could still move at will to the fertile and easily accessible lands of Karabagh and Armenia, while the Armenian population was restricted in their movements.

War Against Azerbaijan claims that the first time the Armenians entered south of the Caucasus was in the late Middle Ages, when the Monastery of Echmiadzin became their religious centre, which provokes the claim:

> It appears that the history of settlement in Vagarshabad village [the old name of the village where the monastery is located] by Armenians dates back to the early fifteenth century, the first Armenian settlement in the territory of the Caucasus, to which resettlement became substantial in the early nineteenth century.[4]

The author has overlooked the fact that the monastery of Echmiadzin was founded during the fourth century, when Armenia became a Christian nation, Echmiadzin has been its religious centre ever since. During the fifteenth century Echmiadzin was not hardly established, as claimed in the book, but reaffirmed in 1441 as the seat of the Armenian religious leader, the Catholicos. One does not need to be a specialist to see that the ancient and medieval capitals of Armenia, Dvin, Artashat and Yervandashat, including major centres of religious learning have all been in the South Caucasus, north of the Arax River. Even during the pre-Christian era, the Armenian king Tigranes the Great (140-55 BCE) constructed one of its major fortress-cities, Tigranakert ('City that Tigran Built'), in Eastern Artsakh, near the borders of Albania proper, with its Christian basilica built nearby during the fifth to sixth centuries.[5]

If the Azerbaijani claims are true, then how does one explain the fact that in all the historical writings of local 'Azerbaijani' historians such as Mirza Javanhsir Qarabaghi, whose History of Karabagh covers the period from the seventh century until 1830, writes about the Armenians of the region as the local population with no mention of their being newcomers? The same could be said about another local historian, Mirza Adigozel Beg, who claims in the prologue of his *Karabagh-name*, written in 1845, that 'about certain occurrences I have referred to the elderly local Georgians, Armenians and

4 Imranli, op. cit., 272.
5 See website www.tigranakert.am/gallery.

Muslims', proving that in spite of the Azerbaijani claims, Armenians did live in the region.[6]

A significant record documenting the presence of Armenians in Karabagh is the regional statistics gathered in 1823 by the order of General Aleksei Yermolov (Ermolov) (1777-1861), based in Tbilisi, who was the commander of the Russian forces in the Caucasus. The resulting figures were published in Tbilisi in 1866, containing the details of all the towns and villages with populations of Turks, Armenians, 'nomads' and others. The tables give the names of the town quarters, ethnic background of residents, names of the heads of the families and their taxes paid. These irrefutably prove the massive Armenian presence in the region prior to 1828-30.[7]

In the introduction to *War Against Azerbaijan* the author examines the presence of the Armenians in the South Caucasus and insists:

> The period was remarkable for events which would have a significant impact on the future faith of the Azerbaijani people. Thus, following the occupation, Russia achieved a considerable demographic change by resettling a great number of Armenians in the Azerbaijani territories.[8]

When the Azerbaijani scholars write about the resettlement of the Armenians in Karabagh and the Caucasus they invariably refer to the writings and data prepared by the French-Russian historian and ethnologist Ivan Chopin (1798-1870), who was consultant to the tax authorities in the Armenian Oblast of Russia. Azerbaijan historians claim that prior to 1828-29 there were no Armenians living in the South Caucasus including the region of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Siunik and Karabagh, and that all the Armenian population living in the area during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were brought to these regions by the Russian army, while the facts show that the number of Armenian immigrants to the area during 1828-29 was insignificant. In order to make the data suitable for their claims the Azerbaijani scholars omit many parts of the report which do not suit their requirements. Concerning the Armenians from Iran and Turkey and the areas of their resettlement, Chopin presents the following figures:

6 Mirza-Adigeozal Beg. *Karabagh-name [History of Karabagh]* (Baku: 1950), 43 (in Azerbaijani-Turkish).

7 Mogilevskii and Ermolov, *Opisanie Karabaghskoj provintsii*, *sostavleno v 1823 gody [Survey of the Province of Karabagh, prepared in 1823]* (Tbilisi: 1866).

8 Imranli, op. cit., 7.

Settled in the Province/Region	*Arriving from Iran*	*Arriving from Turkey*
Yerevan	23,568	20,639
Nakhichevan	10,652	27
Ordubad	1,340	0
TOTAL	35,560 souls	20,686 souls [9]

Chopin's contemporary Sergei Glinka (1775-1847) used the reports of local officials to conclude that at this time (1823) the total number of Armenians resettled from Iran was around 40,000 individuals,[10] of which 750 families were transferred to Karabagh.[11] It is worthy to note that the editor of these reports was Ilya Petrushevsky, a well-known anti-Armenian. It may be concluded that they represent the true picture, and that the maximum number resettled in Karabagh, with a population of well over 100,000 Armenians would be around 4,500 individuals, noting that at the time according the Russian administrative divisions, the Armenian regions of Siunik and Artsakh were parts of Karabagh.

Regarding the number resettled in Karabagh, there are reports stating that during the first year of resettlement the majority of the newly settled succumbed to famine due to the animosity of the local Turks and Tatars as well as various epidemics and illnesses, discussed in detail by M. Darbinian.[12] In addition to the Armenians resettled from Iran and Turkey during the period of 1828-30, according to Glinka there were 14,044 additional families from Turkey, totalling up to 100,000 souls,[13] who were settled in the Russian Province of Tiflis (Tbilisi) as well as the regions of Shirak (western region of present-day Armenia), Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe, in present-day Georgia.

9 Ivan Chopin, *Istoricheskij pamyatnik. Sostoyaniya Armyanskoi oblasti v epokhu eya prisoyedinenya k Rossijskogo imperii [A Historical Monument: The State of the Armenian Oblast during its Joining with the Russian Empire]* (St Petersburg: 1852), 635-638.

10 Sergei Glinka. *Opisanie pereseleniya armyan adderbidjanskikh v predely Rosii [The Resettlement of the Azerbaijan Armenians in the Borders of Russia]* (Moscow: 1831), 92.

11 Ilya Petrushevski, ed., *Kolonialnaya politika rossijskogo tsarizma v Azerbaidjane v 20-60 god XIX v [The Colonial Politics of the Russian Tsarism in Azerbaijan during the 20s to 60s of the Nineteenth Century]* (Moscow: 1936), Part 1, 204.

12 M. Darbinian, 'Parskahayeri gaghte yev nrants bnaketsume (1828-1829 tt)' ['The Emigration of Iranian Armenians and their Resettlement (1828-1829)'], *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri [Newsletter of Social Sciences]* (Yerevan: 1973/2), 12-22.

13 M. Darbinian, 'Ejer Akhaltskhayi yev Akhalkalaki hanyeri masin' ['Pages on the Armenians of Akhaltsikhe and Akhakalaki'], *Banber Yerevani Hamalsarani [The Herald of Yerevan University]* (Yerevan: 1973/2), 212-216.

When Azerbaijani scholars claim that in the territory of Azerbaijan and Artsakh the Armenians arrived mainly after 1828-30, they consider the above families as settled in the territory of Azerbaijan and not Georgia![14] These scholars need to be reminded that during the first decade of the seventeenth century Shah Abbas of Iran deported some 300,000-400,000 Armenians from the above regions to Iran, settling some in the north-west and others in the central parts of the empire, near Esfahan. During 1828-30 the region's security was guaranteed by the Russian army and only a small percentage of these refugees managed to return home after over two centuries of exile.

In the Azerbaijani arsenal is to be found another omnipresent 'proof': the photograph of a monument in the Armenian village of Maragha in Karabagh. The commemorative monument was built by the local Armenians in 1978 and destroyed by Azerbaijani troops in 1992. The inscription on the base of this monument says 'Maragha—150' commemorating the 150th anniversary of its founding. The Azerbaijani scholars base all their claims on the argument that if the village of Maragha was established by the Armenians in 1828, then, prior to this date there were no Armenians living in that region, which is now located inside the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The same claim is now taken up by some in the west, such as the German historian Johannes Rau, who uses the same photograph as evidence.[15] The proponents of this contrived supposition disregard the myriad of references in western and eastern literature regarding the thousands of Armenians who lived in the territory of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, including Shamakhi, Shaki, Ganja, Shirvan and elsewhere, who were forcefully expelled during 1989-92 from what they considered as their hometowns and villages. Instead the Azerbaijani scholars base their claims on the population of just one village, which was destroyed by the Azerbaijani Omon forces in 1992.[16]

One of the most convincing masses of evidence for Armenians in the South Caucasus is the multitude of manuscripts written in the Armenian cultural-religious centres of the region. Up to the nineteenth century, many Armenian-language manuscripts were written in the big cities of the present-day

14 Regarding this misinformation see Catholicos Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *A Brief History of the Aghvank Region: A History of Karabakh and Ganje from 1702-1723*, trans/annotated George Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA. 2009).

15 Johannes Rau, *Der Berg-Karabach-Konflikt zwischen Armenien und Aserbaidschan* (Berlin: 2008), 89.

16 Caroline Cox & John Eibner, *Ethnic Cleansing in Progress: War in Nagorno-Karabakh* (London: 1999) 42-43. See also the report by Cox to the British Parliament and the website http://www.maragha.org/index.html.

Republic of Azerbaijan, some of which are now kept in the Matenadaran in Yerevan. They bear witness to the fact that in the past, cities such as Ganja, Shamakhi, Shaki and Baku had well organized and developed Armenian communities which were able to support libraries and scriptoria, and which were producing manuscripts. A short list of the manuscripts kept in just one centre, the Matenadaran, all prepared prior to 1820 are listed below. The figures indicate the manuscript reference number with its preparation date in brackets.

- Ganja—3992 (1484), 8967 (1576), 9398 (16-18th cc.), 7980 (1639), 6771 (1667), 3541 (1671), 3576 (1673), 3994 (1683), 3044 (1779), 5234 (1783), 9517 (1819).
- Karhat or Dashkesan—3196 (1655), 10044 (1656), 9448 (1665), 3856 (1669), 8965 (1675).
- Shatakh, near Ganja—728 (1621), 713 (1636), 5072 (1661).
- Shamakhi—8361 (1742), 8492 (1717-1720), 9729 (1765).
- Shaki—4228 (1681), 4422 (1783).
- Madrasa—5232 (1403).
- Masaly—5997 (18th c).
- Salyan—4013 (1803).
- Baku—3853 (1779).

These manuscripts were prepared in towns and villages that at present are inside the territory of Azerbaijan, where, according to the Azerbaijanis, there were no Armenians, yet the books and their colophons show that there indeed existed culturally developed communities who supported their Christian religion, culture and heritage.[17]

During recent years, ethnic genetic research has made huge progress and it has been possible for European and American geneticists to carry out their research on the population of Armenia and Iran. According to research carried out on the Y-chromosomes of male Armenians in the indigenous population of Siunik and Karabagh, there is a 20-25% frequency in their fundamental data, meaning that these people had a very long indigenous past.[18] With

17 After the 1820s many other manuscripts and printed literature were produced in the same region, as well as other centres inside Azerbaijan, but these have been excluded from the list.

18 J. F. Wilson, D. F. Weiss, M. Richards, M. G. Thomas, N. Bradman & D. B. Goldstein, 'Genetic evidence for different male and female roles during cultural transitions in the British Isles', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (USA, 2001), 5078-5083.

this discovery it can now be proven that the forefathers of this section of society have been living in the area for at least 40,000 years, i.e. from Paleolithic times.[19] Meanwhile the Azerbaijani authorities have refused to give permission for the same research to be carried out in the territory of the republic.[20]

It is to cover up and bypass these problems that has prompted Azerbaijani research in historiography to try and prove that the population of Artsakh and Siunik is in fact not Armenian but Albanian—the latter being the brothers of the Azerbaijanis, forcefully armenicised in the past—while paradoxically insisting that prior to the 1828-30s there were no Armenians residing in the same region.[21] The logical question arises: how then could non-existent Armenians of Suinik and Karabagh armenicise the local Albanian population?

*

Descriptions of the geographical area of the South Caucasus including its population have reached us from the ancient Greek and Roman writers and historians. In almost all of these writings Armenia and the Armenians are shown to be present in the region south of the River Kura to the Taurus mountain range. Other countries of the region such as Albania and the Albanian tribes, Iberia (part of present-day Georgia) and Lesser Media or Media, at the time possibly being of lesser importance, are mentioned with far less frequency. The name Azerbaijan as such does not appear in any of the old literature, although around the second to first centuries BCE some historians mention the province of Atropatene (Iranian Azerbaijan) as being situated south of the Arax River, being the northern part of Media. Two millennia ago Strabo wrote the following:

> Media is divided into two parts. One part of it is called Greater Media, of which the metropolis is Ecbatana, a large city containing the royal residence

19 M. E. Weale et al, 'Armenian Y chromosome haplotypes reveal strong regional structure within a single ethno-national group', *Human Genetics* (2001/109), 659-674. See also Levon Yepiskoposyan, *Kogda genetika i istoriya stalkivayutsya [When Genetics and History Clash]* (Yerevan: 2008).

20 In order to carry out effective research, field workers need to collect biological samples and information about the ethnic background, family history, mother tongue and other personal details of the donors, the revelation of which could possibly cause problems and hence is not acceptable to the Azerbaijani authorities.

21 Harutyun Marutyan, 'Tseghaspanutyan hishoghutyunnere vorpes not inknutyan dzevasvorich' ['Memories of the Genocide as Formation of the New Identity'], *Patmabanasirakan Handes [Historical Phililogical Journal]* (Yerevan: 2005/1), 55-66.

> of the Median empire (the Parthians continue to use this as a royal residence even now, and their kings spend at least their summers there, for Media is a cold country; but their winter residence is at Seleuceia, on the Tigris near Babylon). The other part is Atropatian Media [Media Atropatene], which got its name from [its] commander.[22]

On this renaming of Lesser Media to Media Atropatene, the Tabriz-born historian and linguist Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946) in 1930 concluded:

> An event occurred here during the reign of Alexander the Great, the effects of which still linger on in our language. This was the naming of our land 'Azerbaijan'. ... Until the conquests of Alexander the Great this land was called Lesser Media. Alexander conquered all the surrounding area but here a local military commander by the name of Atropat rose against him, and defended his land, and continued ruling there until the end of his life. Thus, the land of Lesser Media was named 'Atropatene' in his honour, which linguistically evolved to become the present-day Azerbaijan. It is said that for the subsequent centuries Atropat's heirs reigned in the land.[23]

The same subject is discussed by Igrar Aliyev, who also confirms that the name of the saviour of Lesser Media, i.e. Atropat, was given to the land in 331 BCE.[24] Confirmed by all Classical historians, this explains how the name of Lesser Media became Atropatene, later to evolve into Atorpatkan and, after Arab influence, Adherbigan and finally Azerbaijan. Armenians still call the land by its old name Atrpatakan, i.e. 'country of At(o)rpet'.

The next three sections outline the evidence documenting the presence of the Armenians in the region south of the Caucasus for more two millennia as presented by the Classical Graeco-Roman and Islamic historians and geographers, as well as European travellers and explorers.

Graeco-Roman sources on the Armenian presence

A more reliable classical source than Herodotus (c. 484-425 BCE) known as the father of historiography is difficult to find. In eight pages of his Histories he writes about the Armenians and Armenia, as located in the area north of

22 Strabo, op. cit., book 11.13.1, 303.

23 Ahman Kasravi, 'Azeri or the Ancient Language of Azerbaijan', *Collected Works: 78 Articles and Lectures* (Tehran: 1973), 322 (in Persian).

24 Igrar Aliyev, op. cit., chapter 3.

the Euphrates.[25] When writing about Parthia, he mentions neighbouring Media, which was not yet named Atropatene, but in his work there is no mention of Albania or, for that matter, Azerbaijan.

The German cartographer Charles Muller produced a map of the ancient world according to Herodotus, compiled directly from the descriptions found in the Histories. Reproduced in Fig. 04 of the Appendix, it is taken from an atlas published in 1874, where Armenia and neighbouring Media appear.[26]

Strabo (ca. 64 BCE-25 CE)

One of the best known Greek scholars is the historian and geographer Strabo, whose 17-volume work *Geographia* has reached us intact. These volumes contain historical and geographical texts describing the world in as much detail as was known at the time.[27] Hrachya Ajarian translated selections of these volumes that relate to Armenia, amounting to no less that 60 references and detailed descriptions of Armenia and the Armenians.[28] On the subject of the Caucasian Albanians, Strabo writes:

> They live between the Iberians and the Caspian Sea, their country bordering on the sea towards the east and on the country of the Iberians towards the west. Of the remaining sides the northern is protected by the Caucasian Mountains (for these mountains lie above the plains, though their parts next to the sea are generally called Ceraunian), whereas the southern side is formed by Armenia, which stretches alongside it; and much of Armenia consists of plains, though much of it is mountainous, like Cambysene, where the Armenians border on both the Iberians and the Albanians.[29]

Lesser Media, renamed Atropatene, he explains as follows:

> The other part is Atropatian Media, which got its name from the commander Atropates, who prevented also this country, which was a part of Greater

25 Herodotus, *Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, trans. Andrea Purvis, ed. Robert Strassler (London: 2008), book 52.3, 388-390.
26 E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (New York: 1932/1951), vol. 1. See also William Smith & George Grove, *Atlas of Ancient Geography* (London: 1874).
27 For Strabo's sources on Albania, see H. Svazyan, 'Strabo's Sources on Abania', *Historical Philological Journal* (Yerevan: 1978/1).
28 Strabo, *Otar aghbyurn e re hayeri masin [Strabo: Foreign Sources on the Armenians]*, trans. Ajarian (Yerevan: 1940).
29 Strabo, op. cit., book 11.4.1, 203.

> Media, from becoming subject to the Macedonians. Furthermore, after he was proclaimed king, he organised this country into a separate state by itself, and his succession of descendants is preserved to this day, and his successors have contracted marriages with the kings of the Armenians and Syrians and, in later times, with the kings of the Parthians.[30]

The fourteenth chapter of Book 11 is dedicated to Armenia, describing its topography, nature, geography, people and their customs and lifestyle, as well as related key historical events. Regarding the borders of Armenia, Strabo states:

> As for Armenia, the southern parts of it have the Taurus [mountains] situated in front of them, which separates it from the whole of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the country called Mesopotamia; and the eastern parts border on Greater Armenia and Atropatene; and on the north are the mountains of Parachoathras that lie above the Caspian Sea, and Albania, and Iberia, and the Caucasus, which last encircles these nations and borders on Armenia, and borders also on the Moschian and Colchian mountains as far as the Tibaranias they are called.[31]

Fig. 05 of the Appendix shows Charles Muller's redrawing of Strabo's map of the world where, among the important states and peoples, Armenia can be found in the centre of the map.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE)

Gaius Plinius Secundus, or simply Pliny, is best known for his 37-part *Natural History*, of which Books three to six deal with geography and history. On the region south of the Caucasus, Pliny describes the lands of Iberia, Albania and Armenia, but there is no mention of a country called Azerbaijan:

> Greater Armenia begins at the Parihedri Mountains, and is separated from Cappadocia, as we have said, by the River Euphrates and, when the Euphrates turns aside, from Mesopotamia by the equally famous River Tigris. Both rivers rise in Armenia, and it forms the beginning of Mesopotamia, the tract of country lying between these two rivers; the intervening space is occupied

30 Ibid, book 11.13.1, 303.
31 Ibid, book 11.14.1, 317-319.

> by the Orroean Arabs. It thus extends its frontier as far as Adiabene, where it is enclosed by ranges of mountains that stretch across it; here it spreads its width on the left, crossing the Aras, to the River Kuri, while its length reaches right to Lesser Armenia.[32] …
>
> All the plain from the Kur onwards is occupied by the race of the Albani and then of that of the Hiberes, Separated from Albani by the River Alazon, which flows down from mount Caucasus into the Cyrus [Kur].[33]

Fig. 06 in the Appendix is Charles Muller's (1813-1894) map of the world, drawn as per the second-century description provided by Dionysius Periegetes. Here Armenia and Media can be seen, but again there is no mention of Azerbaijan. It is possible that during this time the renaming of Lesser Media as Atropatene was not yet widely known and used.

Pomponius Mela (died 45 CE)

This Roman geographer's main work is *Description of the World*, where he describes mainly countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, then briefly touches upon the rest of the seas, oceans and countries of the known world. Concerning the continent of Asia he has the following text in his general description regarding the so-called 'protrusion' of Asia Minor:

> Where its expanse protrudes into Our Seas [the Mediterranean] are found the Matiani, Tibarani, and better known names—the Medes, Armenians, Commagenes, Murimeni, Eneti, Cappadocians, Gallo-Greeks, Lycaones, Isaurians, Lydians, and Syro-Cilicians.[34]

Mela mentions the River Arax and describes it as:

> The Araxes [Arax] which cascades down from the side of the Taurus Range, slips along peacefully and quietly as long as it slices through the plains of Armenia, and it is not clear which way it is moving even if you watch it closely.[35]

Mela never mentions Albania or Azerbaijan, but only the old name of the

32 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: 1999), book vi.ix-25, 355-357.
33 Ibid., Book vi.x-28, 359.
34 Pomponius Mela, *Description of the World*, trans. F. E. Romer (Ann Arbor: 2001), 37-38, book 1.13 of the original work.
35 Ibid., 112, book 3.40 of the original.

latter, Lesser Media.[36] All these toponyms can be seen in Fig. 07, where Konrad Miller's reconstructed world map of Mela is depicted. Here Armenia and its neighbouring countries are clear, while, as noted, the names of Albania and Azerbaijan are absent.

Claudius Ptolomaeus (90-168 CE)

Better known as Ptolemy, he is the most important of the ancient geographers, whose aptly entitled *Geographia* is the oldest and most authoritative work on the subject. The book's value is such that it has been in use by geographers and cartographers from the second to the fifteenth centuries of our era. His 'Third Map of Asia' depicts the region of the South Caucasus, including Armenia, Iberia, Abkhazia and Albania. Here, as in Ptolemy's other maps, Azerbaijan is not mentioned.

The fifth volume of *Geographia* contains two chapters on Armenia. The toponyms of Lesser Armenia (Armenia Minor), located between Cappadocia and Greater Armenia, are in the chapter relating to the 'First Map of Asia', with a list of 79 names that includes Melitena (Malatya), Nicopolis, Satala (Satagh) and Coma. Greater Armenia (Armenia Maior), situated north-west of Media and south of Albania and Iberia, is in the chapter relating to the 'Third Map of Asia' and lists 85 toponyms, among them Artaxata (Artashat), Armauira (Armavir), Tigranakert, Arshamashat and Tushpa (Van) shown on maps of Figs 08 to 10 of the Appendix.[37] Caucasian Albania is situated north of Armenia, west of the Caspian Sea and east of Iberia, is also shown on the same map, and the table of toponyms contains 36 entries for that country. In the next chapter of the text the map shows Lesser Media (Iranian Azerbaijan), for which only 25 toponyms are listed in the text.

In the Appendix, two of Ptolemy's maps are shown, which are discussed in further detail in Chapter Five.[38]

Armenians in the Caucasus according to Islamic sources

When the Arabs invaded the civilized cultures of the Middle East and Iran, they had the foresight to allow local scholars and scientists to continue and develop their work in science and the arts. Many of the Arab caliphs

36 As described earlier, the name of Lesser Media later became Atropatene, gradually evolving into Azerbaijan.

37 For details regarding the toponyms see Robert Hewsen & Mkrtich Khachaturian, *Armenian Place Names in Ptolemy's Geography* (Paris: 1982).

38 For more details see Chapter Five.

established centres of scientific learning and research in cities such as Baghdad, Cordoba and Cairo. It was during this period that most of the classical Graeco-Roman literary works were translated into Arabic, the international language of Islam, whereby much of it was reintroduced to Europe via the Muslim rulers of Andalusia.[39]

Most of the so-called Arab geographers and scientists were in fact Persian (Iranian) or had Persian origins. One of the most important pioneers in Islamic geography, and the founder of the Balkhi School of cartography, was Abu Zaid Ibn Sahl al-Balkhi (850-934 CE). Other important geographers were Ishaq Ibn Muhammad al-Istakhri (died 857), Abu Rayhan Biruni (872-1048), Zakaria Ibn Muhammad al-Qazvini (1203-1283), Hamdallah Mostowfi al-Qazvini (1281-1339) and many others. Arab explorers also travelled the world and wrote detailed reports about their journeys and encounters. These include Ibn Battuta (1304-1368/9) who travelled through the Caspian Sea, Russia, Central Asia, China, India and other countries. Through detailed reports and travelogues these explorers expanded and complimented the existing Arab knowledge of the contemporary world, complementing too the information they had learned from their Greek and Roman predecessors.

In Islamic geographical and cartographic descriptions and related maps of the countries in the South Caucasus it is obvious that from their point of view Azerbaijan was the Iranian province situated south of the River Arax (in Persian, Aras), while Albania (in Persian, Arran or Aran) was a separate country or province located north of the same river, and that the two had distinctly separate and different peoples, cultures and even religions. The third country present in the region is Armenia (in Arabic, Armaniya, in Persian, Ermenistan), with its capital Dvin (in Arabic, Dabil). In various geography books by different authors, all the toponyms of the cities and villages of these three countries match each other closely with very few exceptions.

The Balkhi school of geographers generally accompanied their texts with maps, which could be up to 21 in number. In this chapter such texts will be discussed and analyzed. The maps from the same sources will be analyzed in Chapter Five, with the maps themselves appearing in the Appendix.

39 Ehsan Masood, *Science of Islam* (London: 2009). See also Michael Morgan, *Lost History* (Washington DC: 2007).

Ahmed Ibn Yahya al-Baladhuri (died 892)

Al-Baladhuri is one of oldest Islamic historians and geographers, who considered Azerbaijan as one of the Iranian provinces. In his *Kitab al-Futuh al-Buldan (Book of the Conquests of the Countries)* in the chapter entitled 'The Conquest of Azerbaijan' he narrates:

> Hussein Ibn Abru from Ardabil relates how Omar Ibn Khattab appointed Hadhifat Bin al-Yamani as the ruler of Azerbaijan. ... When Hadhifat received his orders, he went to the city of Ardabil in Azerbaijan, where the collector of taxes, the Marzban resided. But meanwhile the Marzban managed to conscript fighters from the Azerbaijani cities of Bajervan, Maymand, Narin, Sarab, Mianeh and other cities. This army fought fiercely against the Islamic forces of Hadhifat.[40]

All these cities that Baladhuri mentions belong to Iranian Azerbaijan. In the same book, in the chapter 'The Conquest of Armenia', he names the cities of Samosata (Artashavan), Qalikla (Erzrum), Khlat, Sisakan, Bagrevand and Dvin.[41]

Ibn Khordadbeh (ca. 820-912)

This ninth century Persian geographer is one of the most renowned Islamic scholars. In his *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (The Book of Roads and Realms)* he refers to Arran and Azerbaijan as follows: 'The countries of Arran, Sisjan and Gurjan are part of the lands of the Casps, which Anushirvan conquered.'[42] Elsewhere in the same book he writes:

> In the north, which constitutes one quarter of Persia, there ruled a leader called Adapatkan. This region consists of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Rey, and Demavand, whose important town is Shalanba.[43]

Ibn Khordadbeh lists the following towns as belonging to the province of Azerbaijan:

40 Yahya ibn Jaber al-Baladhuri. *Kitab-e Futuh ul-Buldan* (Leiden: 1866), 325-326. See also al-Baladhuri, *Kniga zavoyevaniya stran [Book of the Conquest of Countries]*, trans. Joudze (Baku: 1927), 23.

41 V. Barthold, op. cit., 193. See also al-Baladhuri, op. cit., 5.

42 Abul Kasim Obaidallh ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitab al-Masalik va al-Mamlik*, original Arabic with French translation, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, part 6, vol. 39, from the 'Islamic Geography' series (Leiden: 1889), 18-120, Arabic section.

43 Ibid.

Maragha, Mianj [Mianeh], Ardabil, Varthan, Tabriz, Marand, Khoy, Moghan, Barzand, Jabervan, Urmia and Salmast.[44]
... Varthan is located on the borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan.[45]

All the above towns have been and still are in the Iranian Province of Azerbaijan, which again shows that Azerbaijan was always an Iranian province. Even in modern maps, the city of Varthan, placed between Armenia and Iran of the time, is 50km north of Tabriz and 40km south of the Arax, i.e. in the position as described in the medieval text. Ibn Khordadbeh allots three pages to the country of Arran (Albania), while Armenia merits more than twenty pages of descriptions. In the eyes of this specialist, these are indicators of the importance of the lands in question. Armenia is shown as stretching from Lake Van to past Sevan, Azerbaijian is placed south of the River Arax down to Lake Urmia. North of Azerbaijan the regions of Moghan, Shirvan, Shaki and Tabaristan are to be found, but the name Albania is not mentioned (see Fig. 25 of the Appendix).[46]

Abu Zaid Sahl al-Balkhi (850-934)

Al-Balkhi is one of the leading Islamic cartographers after whom the Islamic cartographic school was named. A scholar and mathematician, he lived in Baghdad but in the later stage of his life moved to the Central Asian city of Balkh, in present-day Afghanistan, where he produced most of his important geographical works.

The geographical works of the Balkhi School have a number of common characteristics which in one form or other also feature in many other Islamic books, where chapters for each country or province provide detailed descriptions, accompanied by a map of the relevant region, generally oriented with south at the top—the exception being the map entitled 'Map of Arran, Armenia and Azerbaijan' which is always oriented with north at the top.[47] Another feature of these maps is the division of the habitable world into seven climatic bands or zones, from the very hot to the very cold.[48]

44 Ibid., 118.
45 Ibid., 119.
46 Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kniga putei i stran [Book of Roads and Realms]*, Russian translation (Baku: 1986), 290, map 10.
47 When the map has north at the top, this is referred to as 'oriented north'.
48 In Islamic world maps the habitable world is divided into seven weather zones. The important seas shown on these maps are the Mediterranean (Bahr ul-Rum), whose eastern end curves to form the Black Sea. In the south the large sea is the Indian Ocean, where the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf and various islands are

Many Islamic geography books contain world maps, but when it comes to separate maps for geographical regions, they generally represent the countries and regions only belonging to the Islamic world. One of the Persian geographers, al-Muqaddasi, a follower of the Balkhi School, explains:

> We have written here only about the realm of Islam; we do not bother ourselves with the countries of the unbelievers, because we did not enter them, and we see no use whatever in describing them: of course we mention those areas among them where Muslims are settled.[49]

In the Balkhi School, the regional maps concentrate mainly on the Persian provinces, as well as some of those of Arabia and Central Asia. These include Fars, Maghrib, Kirman, Iraq, Jazira (Mesopotamia), Khuzistan, Sistan, Sind, Hind (India), Khazar, Deylam and Tabaristan, Khwarazm, Misr, Sham (Syria), which are inserted after the world map. On the world map itself some of the non-Islamic countries are also shown, such as the Alemans (Germany), Franks (France), Andalus, Rum (Byzantium or Roman Empire), Bulgaria, Saqaliba,[50] Albania, Armenia and China. Regarding the smaller-scale regional maps, generally there were none prepared for the non-Islamic regions with the exception of Albania and Armenia (Arran and Ermenistan), which were the neighbours of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, situated south of the River Arax, and hence were included in a map depicting that region, part of whose population was Muslim. As a rule, this regional map is always entitled 'Map of Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan'.

also shown. In the north the Caspian (Bahr-e Khazar) is shown as a lake, sometimes with a number of islands and the Aral Sea is present fed by the River Amu-Darya. This is the corrected version of the ancient Greek maps, where the Caspian was often shown as a gulf, connected to the North Sea. The Rivers Euphrates (Furat) and Tigris (Dajla) are shown flowing from the Caucasus and Taurus Mountains to the Persian Gulf or Arabian Sea. The Nile is depicted with its five sources in the Mountains of the Moon in Africa, which flow first into a lake, from where the Nile rises, flowing into the Mediterranean Sea. The all-encompassing Ocean and the Mountains of Qaf surround the world. The Biblical tribes of Gog and Magog are kept at bay by the Iron Gates, built not by Alexander the Great, but by Anushirvan the Just (the Persian king Khosrow Anushirvan). See the Old Testament, Book of Ezekiel, ch. 38 & 39. In Classical Armenian historiography these gates are known as 'Chora Pahak'. See Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps*, 2007, 16-20, 82-83, 118-120.

49 Al-Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, trans. Basil Collins (Reading: 2001), 8 (9 of the MS).

50 This is what the Arabs called the Slavonic races and the Khazars, who lived north-east of Byzantium. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, vol. 8* (Leiden & London: 1995), 872-881.

In this sort of map showing the countries south of the Caucasus, the provinces of Iberia and Colchis are not mentioned, while Azerbaijan/Atropatene without exception is shown as the north-western province of Iran, south of the Arax. Albania is always present with its Persian-Arabic name Arran, perhaps the reason being that during the seventh to eighth centuries the population of this land was in the process of converting to Islam and thus joining the Islamic camp. The three countries of the South Caucasus are placed as follows:

- Arran—lying on both banks of the Kura, extending from Tiflis (Tbilisi) to the Caspian Sea.
- Azerbaijan—south of the Arax and east of Lake Urmia.
- Armenia—north and south of the Arax, west of Lake Urmia.

The Arab geographer Abu al-Fida (or Abul-Fida) in his *Taqwim al-Buldan (Sketch of the Countries)* makes the following observation: 'As these three provinces are closely related, scholars place them in one single map and describe them in one chapter.'[51]

Ibn al-Faqih Hamadani (tenth century)

A Persian historian and geographer, Ibn al-Faqih wrote his *Mukhtasar al-Buldan (Concise Book of Provinces)* during the early tenth century. He was born in the Persian city of Hamadan, which, as claimed by Igrar Aliyev and Farida Mamedova, in medieval times was one of the cities of Azerbaijan.[52]

Mukhtasar al-Buldan contains two pages describing Arran, three pages for Azerbaijan, and seventeen pages for Armenia. In the case of Azerbaijan, the author states that it stretches from Barda'a to Zanjan, almost corresponding to the correct extent of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. Within this province he mentions the cities of Salmast, Moqan, Khoy, Varsakan, Baylakan, Maragha, Neiriz and Tabriz.[53]

Ibn al-Faqih places the following cities within the territory of Armenia: Barda'a (probably because of its majority Armenian population, see Qarabaghi, *History of Karabakh*), Shaki, Qabala, Dabil, Bagrevan,

51 Abu al-Fida, *Taqwim al-Buldan [Sketch of the Countries]*, trans. Abdullah Ayat (Tehran: 1970), 442 (in Persian).
52 *Ozetli Tarih Atlasi* (Baku: 1986).
53 Ibn al-Faqih Hamadani, *Mukhtasar al-Buldan H. Mas'ud* (Tehran: 970), 129 (in Persian).

Nakhichevan, Khlat, Arjesh and Qalikla (Erzrum).[54] On Arran he mentions only that the Rivers Arax and Kura pass through it, and that the city of Baylakan can be found there.[55]

Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Husein Ali al-Mas'udi (896-956)

The Baghdad-born historian and geographer, better known simply as al-Mas'udi, began his travels at an early age in the regions of Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Caucasus, reaching India in the east and Africa in the south. Concerning the South Caucaus he writes:

> Men are placed here .... because the nomadic Ghuzz [Oghuz] Turks set up their winter camp in these parts. As the water courses that link the river of the Khazars with the Strait of Pontus are often frozen, the Ghuzz cross them with their horses, for there is so much water and it is frozen so solid that there is no danger of it breaking under their weight, and thus they raid into the land of the Khazars.
>
> At the head of one of these passes is the city of Derbend, built by Chosroe Anushirvan [Sassanid ruler of Iran, 531-579] in a place between the mountains and the Sea of the Khazars [Caspian Sea]. ...
>
> Had their rulers not aided Iran in founding the city of Derbend and constructing these ramparts, which extend both into the sea and over the mountains as we have said, and in building castles and establishing colonies ruled by properly constituted kings, there is no doubt that the rulers of Georgia, the Alans, the Avars, the Turks and other nations we have named would have invaded the territories of Bardha'a, Arran, Baylaqan, Azerbaijan, Zanjan, Abhar, Qazvin, Ramadan, Dinawar, Nihawand and the frontiers of the dependencies of Kufa and Basra, thereby reaching Iraq, had God not blocked their advance in the way we have described.[56]

Perhaps during the ninth century they were unable to conquer the South Caucasus, but the Turkic tribes of Central Asia eventually reached the areas Mas'udi mentions, as well as Armenia and Azerbaijan. The invading tribes

54 Ibid, 129-130. Some of these cities are in Western Armenia, some in Eastern Armenia and a few in present-day Georgia.

55 Ibid, 139.

56 Mas'udi, *From The Meadows of Gold*, trans. Paul Lunde & Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2007), 17-18, 27, 28. See also al-Mas'udi, *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, trans. Aloys Sprenger (London: 1841), 401, 416 & 459.

began with plundering the region, gradually establishing themselves as its overlords. The present-day Azerbaijanis now claim to be indigenous to this region, calling themselves one of the oldest people inhabiting the area, relegating the Armenians as newcomers.

Abu Ishaq bin-Muhammad al-Farsi al-Istakhri (died 957)

Arguably the most important early Islamic geographer, al-Istakhri's magnum opus is the *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (Book of Roads and Realms)*. The extant manuscripts of the volume contain 19-21 maps. In the main text the countries and regions shown in the maps are discussed and described in detail.[57] The chapter on the countries south of the Caucasus is entitled 'Concerning Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan', where details of the cities and peoples of the three provinces are described. Their cities are divided in the following manner:[58]

> **Azerbaijan:** The largest town is Ardabil. Other cities are Maragha, Urmiya, Mianeh, Dehkharqan, Salmast, Nashui, Marand, Tabriz, Barzand, Moqan, Jabervan, Ushneh and other smaller ones.
> **Arran:** Barda'a is its largest town. Others are Bab al-Abwab [Derbend], Tiflis, Baylaqan, Varthan, Shamakhi, Abkhaz, Shaberan, Qabala, Shaki, Ganja, Shamkhor and other smaller ones.
> **Armenia:** Dabil is the capital which is larger than Ardabil. Other cities are Nakhichevan, Berkri, Khlat, Manazkert, Varzan, Bitlis, Qalikla, Arzan, Miafarqin[59] and Saraj, which all are bustling.

At the end of the book there is a table of distances between the main cities, which is similar to those of the Armenian Anania Shirakatsi (610-685 CE), entitled 'Mghonachap' ('measure of mileages').[60] Al-Istakhri's maps are stylised and are generally coloured vividly, being very pleasing to the eye.

57 About 34 manuscripts of the book have reached us, most of which contain the maps, the oldest of which dates from 1173 CE. See Harley, J. B. & Woodward, David, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: 1992/1 & 19922), 130-136.
58 Al-Istakhri, *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, trans. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: 1961), 155-159 (in Persian).
59 This name relates to the old Armenian capital of Tigranakert, found near the present-day Turkish cities of Diyarbekir and Silvan. See T. K. Hakobian, S. Melik-Bakhshian & H. K. Barseghian, *Hayastnai yev harakits shrjanneri teghanunneri bafiaran [Toponyms of Armenia and Neighbouring Regions]*, vol. 3 (Yerevan: 1991), 678 & 818, vol. 5 (Yerevan: 2001), 92.
60 Al-Istakhri, op. cit., 160-161. See also Anania Shirakatsi, *Matenagrutyun [Bibliography]*, trans. G. Petrosyan (Yerevan: 1979), 312-314.

Abulqasim Muhammad Ibn Hawqal (travelled between 943 and 978)

The geographical work of this Islamic scholar, entitled *Surat al-Ard (The Face of the Earth)*, contains 21 maps and detailed descriptions relating to the area covered by each map and region.

As in other Balkhi School maps, Ibn Hawqal's maps also depict almost the entirety of the Islamic world and its provinces. For these regions he supplies detailed information and the names of their towns, rivers and mountains. Chapter six of *Surat al-Ard* is dedicated to the three countries south of the Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Arran, introduced as follows:

> In this chapter we shall talk about the Islamic countries located east of Byzantium. We shall begin with Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan, which are considered as one region, for their ruler was one and the same person.[61]

In this chapter the cities of the three countries are listed separately:[62]

> **Arran:** Bab al-Abwab [Derbend], Shamakhi, Shaki, Tiflis, Jenze [Ganja] and Barda'a.
> **Azerbaijan:** Marand, Khunj, Tabriz, Ardabil, Zanjan, Maragha, Dajerman, Ushneh, Khoy, Urmia, Buhayre Kabutan [Lake Kabutan-Urmia].
> **Armenia:** Khlat, Dabil, Varzan, Qalikla, Arzan, Bitlis, Miafarqin, Biuhayr-e Khlat [Lake Van] and Jabal Harith [Mount Ararat].

From studying both the map (see Fig. 27) and text, it is quite clear that Arran and Azerbaijan are completely different territories, located in each other's neighbourhood, one on the northern and the other, on the southern shores of the River Arax.

Hodud al-Alam (982)

The anonymous *Hodud al-Alam (The Regions of the World)* was written originally in Persian around 982 CE and is a unique composition. It was translated with an extensive commentary by the Russian orientalist Vladimir Minorsky.[63]

61 Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard*, trans. A. Sho'ar (Tehran: 1966), 81 (in Persian).
62 Ibid., 83-91.
63 The original manuscript, its text and Minorsky's annotations have been published in Tehran, see *Hodud al-Alam [The Regions of the World]* (Tehran: 2004). During 1904-1908 Minorsky worked in the Russian consulates of Tehran and Tabriz, where he spent much of his time studying the language, literature and scientific and historical manuscripts of Persian scholars.

This major geographical manuscript presents the regions and cities of the known world. Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan are each given separate chapters containing the names of their town and cities as well as a detailed description of their geographical features and population. The cities are listed as follows:[64]

> **Azerbaijan:** The largest town is Ardabil. Other cities are Asna, Tabriz, Maragha, Barzand, Muqan, Varthan.
> **Armenia:** Duvin is the capital, Dehkharqan, Urmia, Salmas, Khoy. Berkri, Arjish, (A)Khlat, Nakhichevan, Manazkert, Qalikla, Miafarqin—border of Armenia and Rum, Marand, Meimandh, Ahar, Sangan.
> **Arran:** Barda'a is its largest town and the capital. Quban, Baylaqan, Bazhgah—toll house on the Araks, Ganja, Shamkhor, Khunan, Vardukiya or Bardaj, Qala, Tiflis, Shaki, Mubaraki, Suq al-Jabal, Sunbatman, Sanar, Qabala, Bardaj, Shirvan, Khursan, Kurdivan, Shavaran, Derbend-e Khazaran, Baku.

Once again here is a Persian reference work where Arran and Azerbaijan are treated as separate and different countries lying on opposite banks of the Arax.

Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Shamsuddin al-Muqaddasi (945-1000)

This was another respected Persian-Islamic geographer, whose simple maps show major countries, cities and the roads connecting various regions. His *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rafat al-Aqalim (The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions)* contains a great deal of information about countries, regions, provinces and the people living in these parts, as well as containing twenty simple maps.[65]

When writing about the countries of Arran, Armenia and Azerbaijan, al-Muqaddasi calls them jointly 'al-Rihab' (the 'Expanse'), which may be Buniatov's 'Caucasian Knot' group of countries (see page 64):

> We consider this region as comprising three districts. The first one from the direction of the lake [Urmiya] is al-Ran [Arran], then Arminiya, then Adherbayjan.[66]

64 *Hodud al-Alam*, trans. and commentary Vladimir Minorsky (Cambridge: 1982), 142-145 (32a-32b of the MS). See also ibid., Persian text, Persian translation, 415-433.
65 For details of the contents of this book please see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus* (London & Yerevan: 2007), 105-107.
66 Al-Muqaddasi, op. cit., 303 (374 of the MS).

Making clear, however, that he is writing about three separate entities, the geographer proceeds to describe each of these countries (provinces):

> **Al-Ran** constitutes about one-third of the region. It is like an island, between the lake and the River al-Rass. The River al-Malik cuts through its length. Its capital is Bardha'a, and among its towns are Tiflis, al-Qal'a, Khunan, Shamkur, Janza, Bardij, al-Shamakhiya, Bakuh, al-Shabaran, Bab al-Abwab, al-Abkhan [Abkhaz], Qabala, Shaki, Malazkird, Tabla.[67]
>
> **Arminiya** is an important district. It was set out by Armina bin Kanzar bin Yafath bin Noah. From here come curtains, very fine fringed cloths, and many special items. Its capital is Dabil, and among its towns are Bidlis, Khilat, Arjish, Barkari, Khoy, Salamas, Urmia, Dakharraqan, Maragha, Ah[a]r, Marand, Sanjan, Qaliqala, Qandariya, Qal'at Yunus, Norin.[68]
>
> **Adharbayjan** is a district laid out by Adhrabadh bin Biyurasaf bin al-Aswad bin Sam bin Noah—on whom be peace. Its capital, and this is the metropolis of the region, is Ardabil. A mountain is here which has a dimension of one hundred forty farsakhs, all of it villages and farms. It is said that there are seventy languages spoken here. The agricultural products of Ardabil are many. Most of the houses are under the ground. Among the towns are Rasba, Tabriz, Jabirwan, Khunaj, al-Mijanij [Mianeh], al-Sarat [Sarab], Barwa, Warthan, Muqan, Meimandh, Barzand.[69]

Al-Muqaddasi's map of the region is depicted in Fig. 28, with a short description of the contents (see also Chapter Five, page 145), making it clear that Arran and Azerbaijan are two different countries found respectively on the northern and southern shores of Arax.

Abul-Fida (1273-1331)

Abul-Fida was a Kurdish historian and geographer, whose most important work is *Taqwim al-Buldan (Description of the Regions)*, containing basic facts about the earth's geography, followed by lengthy tables of data with the names of cities and towns, their geographical coordinates, their allegiance, complemented by descriptions of the lands, their peoples and activities. One of the

67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., 303-304 (374-375 of the MS).

chapters is entitled 'On Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan', where he writes about the location of Azerbaijan: 'To its east is the province of Deylam [Gilan] and to its south is Iraq and al-Jazira [Mesopotamia].' The tables are summarized as below:[70]

> **Azerbaijan:** The town are Salmast, Urmia, Maragha, Ardabil, Mianeh, Marand, Tabriz, Barzand and Sultaniye.
> **Armenia:** Erzinjan, Mush, Arzan, Malazkirt, Khlat, Vostan, Dabil.
> **Arran:** , Nakhichevan, Ujan, Moqan, Barda'a, Shamkhor, Shamshat, Bab al-Abwab.

Taqwim al-Buldan also confirms the distinctions made between Arran and Azerbaijan as countries.

Hamdallah Mostowfi al-Qazvini (1281-1349)

Mostowfi, a Persian geographer, produced *Nozhat al-Qolub (Heart's Bliss)*, which contains research and data on countries including their geographical and natural details as well as the ethnicity of their populations. The third chapter is dedicated to Azerbaijan, where Mostowfi states that 'Azerbaijan is the largest and most important province of Iran'.[71] Thus, as with all other Islamic geographers, he confirms that Azerbaijan is indeed the Iranian province found south of the Arax, and not to be confused with Arran-Albania north of the river. This same picture is presented by all the other Islamic maps of the region, which can be seen in Figs 25-30.

Al-Rashid al-Baku'i (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries)

Back in 1971 Buniatov translated this Baku-born geographer's work, *Kitab-i Talkhis al-Athar wa Aja'ib al-Muluk al-Qahhar (Book of Omnipotent Rulers and their Wonderous Achievements)*, where al-Baku'i describes a range of countries, amongst them Azerbaijan:

> This country is situated between Kuhistan [Iranian provinces of Gilan and

70 Abul al-Fida, *Taqwim al-Buldan*, trans. Abdullah Ayat (Tehran: 1970), 450-469 (in Persian).
71 Hamdallah Mostowfi al-Qazvini, *Nozhat al-Qolub*, trans. Dabir-Siaqi (Tehran: 2002), 121 (in Persian).

> Deylam], Arran and Armenia. There, between the cities of Tabriz and Ardabil lies Mount Savalan.[72]

This short description fits exactly the area occupied by the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, confirming al-Bakui's judgement on the subject. Regarding the location of Armenia, he also confirms its location:

> A country situated between Azerbaijan and Byzantium, where there is a multitude of cities, fortresses and villages. The inhabitants are Christian. There could be found the Greater and Lesser Massis Mountains [the Armenian name for Ararat], which are beyond reach.[73]

Al-Baku'i describes Tabriz as the largest town in (Iranian) Azerbaijan, while he makes no mention of Arran, since during the fifteenth century Arran had already ceased to exist.

Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov (1794-1847)

By most Azerbaijani claims, Bakikhanov is considered to be the founder of Azerbaijani historiography (see page 46). He was a poet, philosopher and historian whose *The Heavenly Rose Garden: The History of Daghestan and Shirvan* was written in Persian and later translated into Azerbaijani-Turkish.[74]

According to recent Azerbaijani publications, Bakikhanov 'presents a range of evidence including on geographical features and sites around Quba and Karabakh'.[75] This is a misleading statement, since he actually writes about Shirvan and Daghestan, i.e. as indicated in the title of his book. Here is what Bakikhanov has to say about Shirvan's borders:

> The country of Shirvan to the east borders on the Caspian Sea, and to the south on the River Kur, which separates it from the provinces of Moghan and Armenia. From the north-west on the River Qaneq and following an undefined line it flows to the region of Ilisu and the high mountains of the Caucasus. ... Thus, present-day Shirvan with Saliyan, Sheki, Baku, Qobbeh,

72 Abd ar-Rashid al-Bakui, *Kitab-i Talkhis al-Asar va al-Ajayib al-Malik al-Qahhar* (Moscow: 1971), 61-62. See also the manuscript of this work, ref. f.AR-585, folio 34b in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris.
73 Ibid., 86 (52b in the MS).
74 Victor Shnirelman, *The Value of the Past*, op. cit., 80-82.
75 Tale Heydarov & Taleh Baghirov, ed., op. cit., 95.

Darband, Tabarsaran and Kur and the region of Samuriyeh and some parts of Lower Ilisu is part of that and constitutes the largest and the best part of this country.'[76]

When Buniatov edited the Russian translation of *The Heavenly Rose Garden*, he removed the word Armenia from the first sentence of the above description, leaving it as follows: 'The province of Shirvan in the east borders the Caspian Sea; in the south-west is the River Kura dividing it from the province of Moghan.'[77]

The work of abbreviation and rewriting had begun even before the text itself: Bakikhanov's complete title is *The Heavenly Rose Garden: The History of Daghestan and Shirvan*, but Buniatov has removed the second, tell-tale part of the title, leaving only the first, very unspecific half, *The Heavenly Rose Garden*. In his edited translation, other alterations and abbreviations are abundant. For example from page 22 of the manuscript he has removed an entire paragraph where the word 'Armenians' appears a number of times.[78] On other pages he has added 'Tats' to the word 'Armenians' in order to dilute their presence by introducing other peoples.

Regarding Karabagh, Bakikhanov offers the following description:

> Abdul-Rahman from the side of Moghan and Bakr from the side of Armenia conquered most of the lands by fighting and some by peace. Bakr constructed the Khoda-Afarin Bridge across the River Aras. Most of the Armenians of Qarabagh, who are still living in inaccessible places, took refuge from the Arab army and did not want to oppose them.[79]

In Buniatov's edition the word 'Armenians' has been replaced by 'population', thus eliminating the indigenous Armenians from the area with one stroke,[80] while *War Against Azerbaijan* takes a step even further by completely eliminating any reference to Armenia/Armenians from the equation:

76 Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *The Heavenly Rose Garden: A History of Shirvan and Daghestan*, trans. Willem Floor & Hasan Javadi (Washington: 2009), 5. See also the original Persian edition of the manuscript (Tehran: 2004), 23.
77 See the Russian translation of the above work: Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *Gyulistani Iram [The Heavenly Rose Garden]*, ed. and commentary by Zia Buniatov (Baku: 1991), 11. See also Bakikhanov, op. cit., 5, footnote 1.
78 Ibid, 21 & 26.
79 Bakikhanov, op. cit., 41. See also the Persian reprint, op. cit., 61.
80 Bakikhanov (Russian), op. cit., 48.

> However, the conquest of Caucasian Albania by Arabs put an end to its existence in the beginning of the century, and the majority of the Albanian Christian population adopted Islam, whereas the population in the Albanian highlands remained Christian. These events also had their influence on the construction of Christian monuments, as the process was suspended for more than one century.[81]

War Against Azerbaijan has other material taken from Bakikhanov similarly expunged and rewritten. His facts remain, regardless, as for example when he states:

> In the winter of the year 787/1386, according to the 'Zobdat al-Tavarikh' [this refers to the *Compendium of Histories*, Juvayni's edited version of the *History of the World Conqueror*], Toqtamesh Khan, one of the descendants of Chengiz Khan, came with 90,000 troops via Derbend to Shirvan and Azerbaijan.[82]

Elsewhere, he says: 'At this time Beysongor with the Shirvan army came to Azerbaijan.'[83] With these two sentences once again Bakikhanov establishes that Azerbaijan and Shirvan—Arran of old—are two distinctly different regions. In fact, the name Azerbaijan is not mentioned often, and whenever it is, it is generally accompanied by the name of Armenia, e.g. 'Armenia and Azerbaijan'. In such descriptions the reader clearly understands that Azerbaijan here refers to the Iranian province, south of the Arax, and has no connection to Shirvan and/or Daghestan, where the province of Arran used to be. Thus, the founder of the historiography of Azerbaijan clearly distances himself from calling the territory north of the Arax either Azerbaijan, or Northern Azerbaijan for that matter, which the present-day scholars insist, instead calling them Shirvan and Daghestan.

Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi (1773-1853)

Qarabaghi is another important Azerbaijani historian and the author of the most important historical work on Karabagh by an Islamic scholar, *Tarikh-e Karabakh (The History of Karabakh)*, written between 1840 and 1844 in Persian,

81 Imranli, op. cit., 12.
82 Bakikhanov, op. cit., 69.
83 Ibid., 77.

the official language of the time. The two extant copies of the work are kept in the Azerbaijani National Academy of Sciences, in Baku.

In his manuscript, Qarabaghi clearly states the following (see Fig. 47a): ‘In ancient times Barda’a was populated by Armenians and others.’[84] In the 1959 Azerbaijani-Turkish translation this sentence can be seen in full (Fig. 47b), but when Nazim Akhundov came to re-edit the latter for the 1889 edition, he removed the offending sentence altogether (Fig. 47c).[85]

Chapter Two of *Tarikh-e Karabakh* is entitled ‘On the Subjects, Former Customs, and Regulations of the Vilayat of Karabagh’, which he begins with:

> During the time of the Safavid sultans of Persia, who are now in Paradise, the vilayat of Karabagh, its tribes, and the khamse [the ‘five’] Armenian mahals [districts] which are those of Dizaq, Varandah, Khachin, Cheleberd, and Talesh [Gulistan], were all subordinate to the beglarbegi [equivalent to province] of Ganja.[86]

Thus Mirza Qarabaghi confirms that even during the first quarter of the eighteenth century Armenians had five self-ruling settlements governed by Armenian meliks.[87] Yet Azerbaijani scholars of today have instead openly rewritten this with the specific intention of backing up their claim that Armenians never lived in this area.

Mirza Adigozel Bey (1778-1840)

This Azerbaijani historian studied in a religious school in Shushi and later wrote his *Qarabaghname (History of Karabagh)* covering a period for the region of 1736-1828. Adigozel Bey describes in detail the ‘five Armenian mahals’ of Karabagh mentioned in Qarabaghi’s work, even providing the names of the meliks and their origins.[88] Once again contemporary confirma-

84 Bakikhanov, op. cit., 69.
85 See Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi, ‘Qarabagh Tarikhi’ [‘History of Karabagh’], trans. N. Akhundov, in *Karabaghnameler [Histories of Karabagh]* (Baku: 1989), 108. See also George Bournoutian, ‘Rewriting History: Recent Alterations of Primary Sources Dealing with Karabakh’, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (Fresno: 1992-1993/6), 185-191.
86 Qarabaghi, *History of Karabagh*, MS, 6.
87 Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia (1917-1921)* (New York & Oxford: 1951), 3-4.
88 Mirza Adigozel Bey, ‘Qarabaghname’ [‘History of Karabagh’], *Karabaghnameler [Histories of Karabagh]*, ed. Z. Buniatov (Baku: 1989), 36-37.

tion is given for the presence of the Armenian lords and the territories they ruled in Karabagh.

*

Finally, it must be remembered that according to his own accounts, the Iranian Safavid king Shah Abbas the Great (or, according to Azerbaijani historians, the Azerbaijani king), after his wars with the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century decided to put an end to the Ottoman attacks by adopting a scorched-earth policy in order to create a buffer zone of barren land between Iran and Ottoman Turkey. The Armenian population of the area, which was the majority, consisted of international traders, artisans, cultivators of the land and producers of silk, and thus useful to the Ottomans. Because of this Shah Abbas forcibly removed them from the Plain of Ararat, Nakhichevan, Siunik and the old Armenian province of Artaz (now lying in the north-western part of Iranian Azerbaijan), burning and destroying everything during his retreat, making the region inhospitable and unattractive for the invading Ottomans. Thus, during 1603 and 1604, from these areas Shah Abbas forcibly removed 300-400,000 Armenians, marching them toward Iran and settling them in various parts of the country. The majority of the merchants, artisans and traders were resettled west of the Iranian capital Esfahan, in a new settlement which he allowed the Armenians to call by the name of their formerly prosperous hometown, the now derelict Julfa.[89] To distinguish it from the old town, it was named New Julfa, where the descendants of these Armenians still live and prosper. Bringing these professional Armenians to Esfahan was also part of Shah Abbas's programme for the developments of crafts and arts in Iran, as well as expanding trade and contacts with Europe. Armenian merchants had been active in Europe's ports and cities for many hundreds of years and Shah Abbas encouraged them to use their contacts and experience in promoting external trade with Iran. To this end he gave the Armenian merchants many advantages and even monopolies.[90]

When viewing facts such as these and comparing them with the historical picture as presented by the modern Azerbaijani scholars, the paradox is clear. If the Azerbaijani historians claim that prior to the nineteenth century there were no Armenians living in the territory of present-day Armenia and

89 Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East, More Particularly Persia* (London: 1819-23), vol. 3, 47.

90 Susan Babaie, Kathryn Babayan, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe & Massumah Farhad, *Slaves of the Shah* (London: 2004). See also Ouseley, op. cit.

Karabagh/Artsakh, then the question is who were those 300-400,000 people that Shah Abbas (their own king) drove away from these very same regions in 1603-1604, resettling them to Iran?

*

In order to eliminate any Armenian connection from the territories of present day Armenia, Karabagh and the republic of Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani historians use many other methods and approaches.

It becomes clear that presenting the Safavids as an Azerbaijani dynasty and Shah Abbas as an Azerbaijani king (see the previous paragraph), the present-day Azerbaijani authorities are not content with claiming ownership of the territory of Armenia, naming it 'Western Azerbaijan', but go much further into the territory of Iran, as far south as Hamadan and even further, calling all this entire area Azerbaijan (see map in Fig. 01 of the Appendix). Thus the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan claim ownership to a huge part of the territory of Iran, which, since 1947 they have been trying to incorporate into their own country, threatening the integrity of Iran (for details of their actions and plans see Chapter 1). From the above map it can be concluded that Azerbaijan has already taken the initial steps in this direction, naming the Iranian territory, from the River Arax southwards to Hamadan and eastwards up to Qazvin, as 'Historical Azerbaijan', which belonged to their ancestors.

A simple glance at the histories of locally born historians such as Bakikhanov and Qarabaghi allows the realisation that Armenians have lived in the territory north of Arax for a very long time at the very least. The same is clear from the writings of all other early and medieval Islamic geographers and historians. Furthermore, it is also obvious that ancient Azerbaijan is the north-western Iranian province south of the Arax and cannot be confused with ancient Arran-Albania.

Are the present-day Azerbaijani inventors and rewriters of history able to erase all these records and replace them with their own fabrications? So far as the international community is concerned, this is hardly likely, and yet this is precisely what is being done within the Republic of Azerbaijan, beginning with school textbooks and continuing into every other field. Scholars have been using the newly introduced Latin alphabet as a weapon to rewrite history in any way they please with complete impunity, as very few of the population can read and are aware of the truth in the original sources, all written in Persian and the transliterated versions of the Azeri Cyrillic texts. They also

utilize all forms of mass communication and media to disperse their fallacies poisoning the minds of their own population and creating extreme anti-Armenian and anti-Iranian sentiments and feelings amongst them. Not content with appropriating and owning others' histories, they claim the opposite, using their fabricated arguments to create antagonistic sentiments within their populace against Armenians and Iranians of today.

The Armenian presence according to western travellers and historians

In this section, the writings of twelfth to nineteenth-century western travellers and researchers will be considered and analyzed, mainly those who travelled in the general area of the South Caucasus and wrote about Albania, Azerbaijan and Armenia.[91]

The British historian Christopher Walker has compiled an anthology of the work of some of these authors in his *Visions of Ararat*, where he quotes parts from their accounts.[92] A number of the traveller's accounts found in Walker's book are referred to and quoted in the following sections.

Gervase of Tilbury (c. 1180-1228)

The thirteenth century English chronicler and historian Gervase worked in Germany and Italy. His opus magnum is the *Otia Imperialia (Recreation for an Emperor)*, a historical and geographical work prepared specially for Emperor Otto IV of the Holy Roman Empire. The largest world map known to us as the Ebstorf Mappa Mundi was probably prepared to accompany this volume (for further details see page 144 and Appendix Fig. 24).

The *Otia Imperialia* contains a wealth of information about various countries, legends and historical events, which are partially depicted on the Ebstorf map. On this map, as well as in the text of the book, Gervase includes descriptions for Albania and Armenia but nothing for Azerbaijan. In the text Albania is described as follows:

> Along the edge of the northern ocean as far as the River Don and Lake Meotides in the west, round the shores of the Cimmerian Sea to the south-west, to the peaks and passes of the Caucasus in the south, there live

91 A number of the maps relating to these travels are depicted and discussed in the Appendix.

92 Christopher Walker, *Visions of Ararat: Writings on Armenia* (London: 1997).

thirty-four tribes. However, the general name for the nearest part of this area is Albania.[93]

And on the map:

In this land, which is called Albania, there live 26 tribes. ... In the east the land begins at the Caspian Sea and stretches along the shores of the northern ocean over many lands to the Meotidian Marshes.[94]

In the book Armenia is mentioned in several places, and the following description is given:

The region of Armenia lies between Taurus and Caucasus, stretching from Cappadocia to the Caspian Sea. To the south-east it has the Acroceraunian Mountains, the hills in which the Tigris has its source. It is said that it was also in these mountains that the Ark came to rest after the flood, on the highest peak in the Taurus range commonly called Ararat. Ararat is also an area of flatland in Armenia.[95]

Gervase confirms the existence of Albania and Armenia, both situated north of the River Arax, while he makes no mention of Azerbaijan either in the text of the book or the map.

Kirakos Gandzaketsi (c. 1201-1271)

Gandzaketsi was an Armenian historian and author of many historical and religious texts. Born in the village of Getik near Gandzak/Ganja he participated in many religious synods of the Armenian Church including in Cilicia. Regarding the population of the city of Gandzak/Ganja he relates that 'this city has a large population and is filled with Persians as well as Christians, who are somewhat less in number'.[96] Thus he confirms the existence of Armenians in the city as well as the numerous Persian populace.

93 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, trans. S. E. Banks & J. W. Binns (Oxford: 2002), chapters 2 & 3, 230-231.
94 Gervase of Tilbury, Ebstorf map, see Appendix, Fig. 21.
95 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, op. cit., 226-229.
96 Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Patmutyun Hayots [History of the Armenians]*, ed. K. Melik-Ohanjanyan (Yerevan. 1961), 235. In mentioning the Christians of Gandzak he must be referring to the Armenians, since the Georgian king periodically attacked the city, sacking it, and in chapter 12 of his book, Gandzaketsi mentions that the Armenians of the city often helped the Georgian prisoners by giving

William de Rubruck (1220-1293)

De Rubruck was a Dutch missionary who travelled from Constantinople to the Mongol lands and the Karakorum Desert during 1253-55. On his return he passed through the Caucasus and Armenia, of which he provides descriptions of great interest. In his memoirs he talks about South Caucasian peoples such as the Alans, Caucasian Tatars, Persians and Armenians and the lands that they inhabit, but makes no mention of Azerbaijan or Albania.[97]

Marco Polo (1254-1324)

Marco Polo travelled from Europe to China, being away from Italy for 24 years between 1271 and 1295. In his accounts, Marco Polo provides detailed information about the Caucasus, Armenia, Georgia and so on. He writes about the territory, towns, religion, trade and connections of Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia with the European trading centres.[98] When writing about Georgia and Teflis (Tbilisi) he states the following:

> In this province there is a handsome city named Teflis, around which are suburbs and many fortified posts. It is inhabited by Armenian and Georgian Christians, as well as by some Mahometans and Jews; but these last are in no great numbers.[99]

Typical of his fellow European travellers, Marco Polo in his travelogues and memoirs makes no mention of a land called Azerbaijan or Albania.

Ranulf Higden (c. 1282-1363)

This English chronicler and historian was a Benedictine monk who spent his life working at St Warburgh Monastery, Chester. His most important work is the *Polychronicon*, a chronicle of history from Genesis until his times. There are three main versions of the book, written in 1327, 1340 and 1360. The *Polychronicon* was a popular work during the fifteenth century—more than one hundred manuscript copies are said to have existed. It is generally

them food and clothing and even occasionally buying their freedom from the Persian overlords. Hence it can be deduced that not many Georgians could have lived there and that the Christians were in fact Armenians.

97 Richard Hakluyt (ed.), *The Prinicpal Navigation Voyages of the English Nation*, vol. 1 (Glasgow: 1903). See also William de Rubruck, 'The Journals of Friar William de Rubruck', *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, ed. Komroff (London: 1928), 75-217.

98 Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. William Marsden (New York: Doubleday, 1948), 20-22.

99 Ibid., 25.

accompanied by a world map showing the countries of the known world.[100] Book one provides mainly geographical information about countries, including Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Media, the Caucasus Range, Caspian Sea and neighbouring areas. For Media there is the following description:

> Isidorus schewethe that Parthia that kyngdom, for might and strengthe of men of that lond, that her name spredde into the londes Assyria and Media, and was i-woned to conteyne al the lond of foure contrees, of Assyria, of Media, of Persida, and of Carmania; the which lond Parthia streccheth in lengthe from the see that is i-cleped Caspius anon to the Rede see; and in brede from the ryuer of Ynde to the ryuer that is i-cleped Tigris. That is the byginnynge of the lond that is i-cleped Mesopotamia.[101]

In the book Albania is defined as:

> Hiberia that lond lieth vnder mont Taurus, and lieth westward fast by Pontus, and ioyneth to Armenye. Albania that lond hath in the est side the see Caspius, and streccheth dounward by the mouthes of the North Occean anon to the wateres that hatte Meotides.[102]

And further on, about Armenia Ranulf has the following to say:

> Armenia, that hatte also Ararath, hath the name of Armenius, Iasons knyght, the whiche Armenius, whan he hadde i-lost Iason, kyng of Thessalia, he gadered knyghtes that roiled aboute, and toke Armenia, and woned therynne, that londe streccheth by the mount Taurus and Caucasus from the see Caspius anon to Cappadocia, and hath in length elouene hondred thowsand paas, and in brede seuene hondred myle. There is that Hille mount Ararath, there Noe is schippe abood after Noes flood, and there is Armenyes tweie, the more and the lasse, the ouer and the nether, and so beethtweye Pannonyes also.[103]

100 For details of the book and maps, its translations and contents, see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus*, op. cit., 190-197.
101 Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, trans. John Trevisia in 1387, facsimile reproduction of the book printed in 1527, ed. Churchill Babington, vol. 1 (London, 1865), 85, 87.
102 Ibid., 143.
103 Ibid., 145-147.

One of the maps from the *Polychronicon* is reproduced in Fig. 23, which is analyzed and discussed on page 144 of Chapter Five.

Johann Schiltberger (1381-1449)

Schiltberger was a German soldier who first fought against the Ottomans. He was first captured in battle by the army of Sultan Bayazid I, who enlisted him to fight instead for the empire. During Bayazid's war with the Mongols Schiltberger was once again captured, this time by Timur Lang's forces, and he served Timur until the Mongol's death in 1405.

He continued his saga as a captive of Timur's son Shahrokh and later his grandson Abu-Bakr, who raided the regions of Armenia and north-west Iran. From 1396, Schiltberger spent more than 30 years in bondage, travelling with his masters almost everywhere that they went. While serving between 1396 and 1422, he found himself in Armenia many times and writes about it in his memoirs:

> **Of Armenia**
>
> I have also been a great deal in Armenia. After Tamurlin died, I came to his son, who has two kingdoms in Armenia. He was named Scharoch; he liked to be in Armenia, because there is a very beautiful plain. He remained there in the winter with his people, because there was good pasturage. A great river runs through the plain is called the Chur, and it is also called the Tygris and near this river, in this same country, is the best silk. The Infidels call the plain in the Infidel tongue Karawag, the Infidels possess it all, and yet it stands in Ermenia. There are also Armenians in the villages, but they must pay tribute to the Infidels. I always lived with the Armenians, because they are very friendly to the Germans and because I was a German they treated me very kindly; and they also taught me their Pater Noster and in their language and they call the Germans, Nymitsch.[104]

Understandably, while editing the translation of the book for a reprint in 1984, Buniatov was unable to tolerate these references to Armenia. He abridged it drastically, altering the names of Armenians in the text and further removing most of the information relating to them. For his coup de grace he

104 Johann Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels: 1396 to 1427* (London: 1879), 86, & chapters 61-66.

completely removed the final chapters of the book covering Armenia and Armenians (Chapters 63 to 66).[105]

It is noticeable that nowhere in Schiltberger's text is reference made to Azerbaijan or Albania. The reason being that Albania as a country had by then ceased to exist, and Azerbaijan was merely a province of Iran, south of the Arax, which fell outside the realm of his master Abu-Bakr mentioned above.

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (died 1412)

Clavijo was a traveller who spent two years (1403-1405) in Timur's court as the ambassador for Henry III of Castile. On his way to Asia he travelled through Western and Eastern Armenia, hence the fourth chapter of his travelogue is entitled 'Trebizond and the Journey through Armenia':

> This city of Arsinga was built on a plain, near a river which is called Ephrates, which is one of the rivers that comes from Paradise. ... It was built by Armenians, and the sign of the cross is cut on many parts of the walls. ... It is inhabited by many Christians, Greeks, and Armenians.[106]

Elsewhere he continues on the subject of the Armenians:

> At noon they [Clavijo's entourage] came to a town called Azeron [Erzrum], which belonged to Timur Beg. It was in a plain, and was surrounded by strong stone wall with towers, and it is large. It also had a castle, but it is not very populous. In there is a handsome church, for this city used to belong to the Christians of Armenia and many Armenians lived in it.[107]

And again:

> On Tuesday they passed the night in a town called Naujua [Nakhichevan]; and the road, on that day, was along the banks of this river, being very

105 Concerning the alterations and emissions made by Buniatov, see Paruir Muradyan, 'Kak izdavalis 'Puteshestviya'' ['How was 'Travels' published?'], *Kommunist* (Yerevan: 25.06.1988, no. 149). See also George A. Bournoutian, 'Rewriting History', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (Fresno: 1992-1993), vol. 6, 185-6.

106 Ruy Gunzales de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of the Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Teimour at Samarkand*, trans. Clemens R. Markham (London: 1854), 72-73.

107 Ibid., 79.

> rugged, and dangerous to pass. In this place there was a Caxic [possibly a Turkic term for governor], who received the ambassadors very well; and there were many Armenians.[108]

Regarding the Armenian religious centre, Echmiadzin, he says:

> On Thursday, the 29th of May, at noon, they reached a great city called Calmarin [Echmiadzin], and from it, distant about six leagues, they saw the great mountain, on which the Ark of Noah rested, after the flood. ... The greater part of the inhabitants were Armenians; but the land of Armenia has been taken from the Christians by the Moors.[109]

In the chapter afterwards Clavijo writes about his passage through Azerbaijan, Iraq and Khorasan. When writing about Azerbaijan he mentions the cities of Khoy and Tabriz, which conveys to us his impression of Azerbaijan being the Iranian province. He does not mention Albania or the Albanians.

Josafa (Giosafat) Barbaro (1413-1494)

A Venetian politician, trader and traveller, Barbaro travelled to Persia from 1471 to 1478, on his way passing through Armenia. Before reaching Tabriz he mentions his encounters with the Armenians of Tarsus, Adana, Merdin, Bitlis, Vostan (Van) and Khoy.[110] He also speaks about the Armenians of Bayburt, Erzinjan, Khlat, Khnus and Arjish.[111] When passing from Lori to Shamakhi he recalls the following:

> I saie that xii iurneys thense ye shall finde Shamachi, a citie in Media in the region of Thezichia, the lorde whereof is called Siruanza, which citie at a neede solde make between viiii and x thousand horseman. It confyneth towards the sea of Bachu, when vi iorneys, which sea is on the right hande of it, and on the lyfte hande is Mengrelia, towards the sea Maggiore, and Caitahcchi, that inhabite about the mountaigne Caspio. This is very good citie; it hath betwene iiii and v thousand houses, and maketh sylkes fastians,

108 Ibid., 80.
109 Ibid., 80-81.
110 Hovhannes Hakobyan, *Aghbyurner Hayastani yev Andrkovkasi patmutyan. Ughegrutyunner, Hator A, XIII-XVI dar [Sources on the History of Armenia and Transcaucasus: Traveller's Notes, 13th-16th Centuries]* (Yerevan: 1932), 178-179.
111 Ibid., 196-198.

> and othe thinges after their manner. It standeth in the great Armenia and a goode parte of the inhabitants are Armenians.[112]

This account confirms the mass presence of Armenians in Ganja.

Anthony Jenkinson (1529-1610)

From 1557 onwards this British merchant travelled to Moscow and Iran four times as the British representative of the Crown and the Moscow Company. In his travelogues he writes the following about the city of Shamakhi: 'This citie is distant from the sea side, with camels seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, and chieflie inhabited with Armenians.'[113] Concerning Azerbaijan he states:

> This towne Ordowill [Ardabil] is in the latitude of 38 degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderaugan [Azerbaijan] wherein the princes of Persia are commonly buried, and there Alexander the Great did keepe his court when he inuaded the Persians.[114]

Jenkinson thus provides further testimony that Azerbaijan is the northwestern province of Iran. In the 1886 edition of the book, the editor Edward Delmar Morgan has added the footnote:

> The Media of Atropates, commander of the Median contingent at the battle of Arbela, included the basin of Lake Urumiyeh, as well as the valleys of the Arazes, Sefid Rud, and Low Countries of Talish and Ghilan, on the shores of the Caspian, thus nearly corresponding with the modern Persian province of Azerbaijan.[115]

John Cartwright (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)

Another British traveller and fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, Cartwright visited the medieval Armenian cemetery of the city of Julfa in 1603, immediately prior to the deportation of the Armenian population of the

112 Josafa [Giosafat] Barbaro & Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, trans. William Thomas (London: 1873), 86. See also Hakobian, op. cit., 199.
113 Anthony Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* (London: 1886), vol. 1, 136.
114 Ibid., 140.
115 Jenkinson, op. cit., 98.

region by Shah Abbas. Passing through Nakhichevan and northern Iran he notes the following:

> The Description of Chiulfal [Julfa]
> At length our Carauan ferried ouer the foresaid Riuer, and so we arriued at Chiulfal, a towne situate in the frontiers between Armenians and the Atropatians and yet within Armenia, inhabited by Christians, partly Armenian, partly Georgian: a people rather giuen to the traffique of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then instructed in weapons and matters of warre. This towne consisteth of two thousand houses and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rocky mountaine in so barren a soile, that they are constrained to fetch most of their prouision, only wine excepted, from the City Nassuan [Nakhichevan], halfe a dayes iourney off, which some think to be Artaxata, in the confines of Media and Armenia. The buildings of Chiulfal are very faire, all of hard quarry stone: and the inhabitants very courteous and affable.[116]

This European source confirms that prior to the deportation, the majority of the population of Julfa and Nakhichevan were Armenian.

Alexandre de Rhodes (1591-1660)

De Rhodes was a French traveller who passed through Nakhichevan during 1640, some 40 years after Shah Abbas's deportation of the Armenian people from the region. Visiting the medieval cemetery of Julfa, he makes the following comments:

> Outside the ramparts of this destroyed and deserted city [Julfa], there is a monument witnessing the piety of the ancient Armenians. Placed in a field are over ten thousand marble tombstones, each decorated with ornate carvings. Each twelve foot high and eight foot wide white marble tombstone, decorated with beautiful images, including a large sign of the cross, stands on a stone plinth. The multitude of these beautiful tombstones presents a very pleasing sight.[117]

116 John Cartwright, *The Preachers Travel wherein is set downe a true journal, to the confines of East Indies, through the great countreyes of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Media, Hircania and Parthia* (London: 1611), 35.

117 Alexande de Rhodes, *Divers voyages et missions du P. A. de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres royaumes avec son retour en Europe par la Perse et l'Armenie* (Paris: 1653), part 2, 62-74.

De Rhodes also passed through Erzrum, Nakhichevan, Yerevan and Echmiadzin, and he writes about the Armenian peoples of these cities. He died in Esfahan and is buried in the Armenian cemetery of New Julfa.

He also describes Tabriz as an important town in Media or Iranian Azerbaijan, mentioning that the capital of Lesser Media was the city of Hamadan, the old city of Ecbatana. He makes no mention of Albania or Azerbaijan north of the Arax.

Adam Olearius (1603-1671)

Olearius was a German mathematician who, between the years of 1635 to 1639, travelled to Moscow and thence to Iran as the secretary of the ambassador of the Duchy of Holstein to the Court of Iran. In his memoirs he relates many details about the lifestyle, traditions and customs of the peoples of Russia and Iran.

Travelling from Archangelsk to Iran, the ambassador's retinue spent a few months in the city of Shamakhi as the guests of the Iranian khan. This gave Olearius a chance to observe in detail the lives, culture and traditions of the population of the city. He was in close contact with the local Armenian community, and in Chapter 5 of the book of his second journey he notes:

> Shamakhi is one of the best cities of Iran, in the northern part of which is the Armenian quarter.[118] Here the streets are narrow and the houses are built of mud and clay, but there are also buildings constructed of bricks or stone. The population of the quarter consisted of Armenians and Georgians.[119]

On the fifth and sixth days of January, 1637, Olearius participated in the religious services of the Armenian Christmas, the 'Blessing of the Water', and the subsequent festive ceremonies, which he described in detail in his notes.[120] The khan, as per the shari'a law of Islam, had forbidden the Armenians to build a new church in the city, but now as a gesture of goodwill towards his Christian guest, on January 18, 1637, he issued his permission to do so, which created great joy amidst the Armenians.[121]

118 During that time the North Caucasus was under Iranian rule.
119 Adam Olearius, *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia: History of Muscovy, Tartary and Persia*, trans John Davies (London: 1669), 165.
120 Ibid., 157-158.
121 Ibid., 158-159.

Hence, during the seventeenth century, Shamakhi had a large and well established Armenian population, which was even granted the rights to built a church and had the resources to do so.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689)

A French traveller, Tavernier made his first trip to Iran during 1631-1633. On his way to Esfahan he passed through Constantinople, Tokat, Erzrum, Yerevan, Nakhichevan and Tabriz. His account includes detailed descriptions of the people he met and their customs, which have since become a reference for others.

When writing about Yerevan and Nakhichevan, he emphasizes the presence of Armenians in those towns, especially mentioning the rich silk merchants of Nakhichevan. In Esfahan he visited the Armenian quarter, named New Julfa, relating how they had built numerous new churches in the town and lived according to their old traditions and customary ways in Nakhichevan.[122]

Sir John Chardin (1643-1713)

Chardin was a Franco-English traveller, who in 1671 and 1677 spent much time on his travels to Iran, passing through Georgia and Armenia and visiting Armenian New Julfa district of Esfahan. He writes the following about Armenia:

> Some there are among them who divide Armenia into three parts. The first which they call properly by the Name, the second which they call Turcomania, and the third to which they give the name of Georgia. But the greater Number divide it to only two parts, the Upper and the Lower. The Lower which is sometimes call'd the Lesser, is under the Dominion of the Turks. The Upper, which they sometimes call the Eastern, sometimes is the Great, but usually the Greater, is a Province of Persia. To the small or Lesser Armenia they assign for Bounds, the Great Armenia to the East, Syria to the South, the Black Sea to the West, Cappadocia to the North, and they place the Greater Armenia between Mesopotamia, Georgia, Media and Armenia the Less. Which Situation agrees in part with that of the Ancient Geographers, who enclose Armenia Less, between Cappadocia and

122 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, English translation (London: 1677), 16-21.

Euphrates, and Armenia the Greater, between Euphrates and Tygris. Some Authors put ... the banks of the Caspian in Armenia.[123]

On the traditions of the Armenians he says:

> Erivan, by the report of the Armenians, is the most Ancient inhabited place in the World. For they affirm Noah and all his Family dwelt there, both before the deluge and after he descended from the Mountain where the Ark rested, and that here was also the Terrestrial Paradise.[124]

Chardin's work indicates that from ancient times to the present, the region south of the Caucasus has been continuously populated by the Armenians.

Esai Hasan Jalaleants (d. 1728)

Jalaleants was the Armenian catholicos of Gandzasar who wrote down the history of Karabagh and Ganja in *A Brief History of the Aghvank Region*, latterly translated into Russian and edited by Buniatov. Here Jalaleants describes the region and its population (figures in brackets refer to page numbers in the manuscript):[125]

- By royal decree the properties and animals of all Armenian and non-Armenian villages were listed (20).
- Armenians who had been oppressed, especially the people of Kutkashen and Poghar villages protested against Shamakhi's Malek Mahmud (25).
- The Armenians and other Christians living the towns and villages near Shamakhi did not suffer much (60).
- The moveable assets of the Georgians of Keghi, including their expensive personal items and animals were confiscated. This happened not only in the Muslim districts of the town, but in the Armenian districts as well (66).

From this book, published in Baku, it becomes clear that until very recently Azerbaijani historians did not deny the presence of Armenians in the territory, towns and villages of Albania and/or the Republic of Azerbaijan. However,

123 Sir John Chardin, *Travels to Persia and ye East Indies through the Black Sea and the Country of Colchis* (London: 1686), 242-243.
124 Ibid., 249.
125 Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *Kratkaya istoriya strany Albanskoj [A Short History of the Country of Albania]*, trans. Ter-Grigorian, prepared & edited by Z. Buniatov (Baku: 1989).

over a period of almost a century, influenced by the distorted and invented history taught in local schools and disseminated through public media, this has changed and most Azerbaijani scholars now deny this fact. For more on the editing of the translation of *A Brief History of the Aghvank Region*, see page 50.

Jonas Hanway (1712-1786)

Hanway was an English merchant and traveller who more than once took the road from Moscow to Iran, travelling through Shirvan and Armenia. He published his memoirs in four volumes in chronological order, beginning with his first trip in 1753. His last two volumes are entitled *The Revolutions of Persia*, where he deals with events in Persia and territories under its dominion, including Karabagh and Siunik during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In the third volume he writes about the Armenians and Armenia, their problems and local groupings. He describes how the Iranian khans treated the Armenian merchants of Nakhichevan and how the Armenians revolted against Shah Tahmasb of Iran.[126]

About the semi-independent Armenians of Shamakhi, he writes:

> The winter [of 1727] had passed without any action worth notice, except that Savi Mustafa, who marched out of Ganja, of which town he was governor, and dispersed the Armenians in the neighbourhood of Shamakhie. These people, laying hold of the present circumstances, formed themselves into a kind of republic, which, as we have mentioned, distinguished itself by the total defeat of a body of six thousand men, who Abdellah Basha had sent against them the preceding summer. It was not long before they had their revenge also of the governor of Ganja.[127]

As seen from the descriptions of Hanway, during the eighteenth century the Armenians were not only present in and near Ganja and Shamakhi, but were an organized force to be reckoned with.

Russian officials in the Caucasus (eighteenth century)

In the archives of Russia dating in the years of 1728-1796 there are many reports received from Baku, Shirvan and Daghestan regarding the local Armenians. These were penned by various officials such as I. G. Gerber, who

126 Jonas Hanway, *Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, and the Revolutions of Persia* (London: 1753), vol. 3, 110, 116, 189, 207. See also Walker, op. cit., 22-27.
127 Hanway, ibid., 252.

writes about the identity and character of the people inhabiting the western shores of the Caspian Sea. In his report dating from 1728, Gerber states:

> In Shamakhi ... the Armenians inhabit many villages of Mushkuri, Rustavi and particularly Qabala districts. Others lived in Shamakhi, Baku and Derbend. In the vicinity of Shamakhi they had monasteries, where their Bishop lived.[128]

Another official, I. K. Deriakin, mentions in his reports that ‘in Shamakhi there lived Persians and Armenians’, without ever mentioning ‘Tatars’ or the more general ‘Muslims’, terms usually given to the local population.[129] On Absheron and the city of Baku he writes: ‘There lived 540 Persian and 40 Armenian families.’[130] Both officials therefore confirm that the Armenians were already in the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan and not new-c o mers to the region.

James Morier (1780-1849)

Morrier was an English diplomat and special envoy to the Shah of Persia. In 1808 he travelled though Constantinople to Iran and presented his credentials to the Court of Iran. In his memoirs he writes much about Armenia and the Armenians, presenting the reader with interesting information about the region including:

> There are said to be ten thousand houses and a population of fifty thousand persons [in Khoy], of which the larger proportion are Armenians. The Mussulmans live in a parish or mahale of their own.[131]

Concerning the city of Bayazed he writes: ‘Bayazid, as I learned in its neighbourhood, is situated close at the foot of Mount Ararat; it is peopled principally by Armenians.’[132] Morier does not mention Albania since at the time there was no such country in the region, while in his writings Tabriz is considered as one of the important cities of Iran.

128 M. O. Kovsen & K. M. Khashayev, *Istoriya, geografiya i etnografiya Dagestana [History Geography and Ethnography of Daghestan]* (Moscow: 1958), 116.
129 Ibid., 164.
130 Ibid., 167-168.
131 James Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor* (London: 1812), 299.
132 Ibid., 307.

Sir William Ouseley (1769-1842)

In 1810-1812 Ouseley, a British orientalist, accompanied his younger brother to his posting as ambassador to the court of the Shah of Iran. On his return journey Ouseley took the road from Tehran to London via Smyrna (Izmir). He noted many facets of life and peoples he encountered in Iran and on his way back, now considered among the most reliable primary sources from the period.

In 1812, for example, while discussing the source of the toponym Azerbaijan, he notes that Tabriz was one of the largest and most important cities of Iran.[133] He then considers the name of the Arax, indicating that the river begins in the regions of Qalikla (Erzrum) before travelling through Georgia, Armenia and Albania to join the River Kura.[134] He later describes his visit to the city of Julfa in Nakhichevan:

> We set out at length, and proceeded over a parched and barren country about three miles; then descended by a steep kutel or hilly-road, and saw the remains of Julfa, a city now in perfect decay; situated on the bank of the Araxes.[135]

He continues:

> ... a ride (from the ferry) of five or six miles; during which Husein Khan pointed out, far distant in Armenia, the 'Kuh-e-Mar' or 'Mountain of Serpents;' so denominated from the immense number of these reptiles which are said to assemble there at certain seasons, and fight in distinct bodies like men. My manzel, the best that Julfa afforded, was the humble dwelling of a poor Armenian who evinced much hospitality, and soon provided an excellent dinner; fowls, eggs, good milk, butter and bread, besides fish which I saw alive, just taken out of the Araxes, within twenty paces of the house. ... Next morning (the sixth), at an early hour I examined the principal remains of Julfa, whereof forty-five Armenian families, apparently of the lowest class, constituted the entire population. But of its former inhabitants, the multiplicity was sufficiently evinced by the ample and crowded cemetery, situated on a bank sloping towards the river, and covered with numerous rows of

133 Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East, More Particularly Persia* (London: 1819-23), vol. 3, 399 & 412.
134 Ibid., 426.
135 Ibid., 428.

upright tomb-stones, which when viewed at a little distance, resembled a concourse of people, or rather, regiments of troops drawn up in close order.[136]

Ouseley also made the following observations regarding the city of New Julfa in Esfahan and its Armenian inhabitants:

> The inhabitants are Christians, whose fore-fathers that monarch forcibly removed from their original place of residence at Julfa in Armenia, allowing them, as an indemnification for his [Shah Abbas's] tyranny, to bestow the name of that ancient city on the territory allotted as their new abode; he made, however, a more substantial recompense, in affording them personal protection and encouraging their commercial transactions.[137]

He also describes Nakhichevan, Yerevan, Ashtarak and other Armenian cities and their details, once again proving the presence of the Armenians in these population centres prior to the nineteenth century.

Guy Le Strange (1854-1933)

The French-English historian and orientalist Le Strange was fluent in Persian and Arabic and his research was based on original texts taken from Islamic geography and history. In his study *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, the eleventh chapter is dedicated to the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, describing its various cities and relationship with the Arab caliphs.[138] In the list of cities belonging to the province, Le Strange lists the following:

> Tabriz, Sarav[b], Maragha, Marand, Pasavi, Ushne, Urmia, Salmast, Khoy, Nakhchevan, Ardabil, Ahar, Mianj [Mianeh], Khalkhal, Firuzabad and Shahrud, which, with the exception of Nakhichevan are all the cities of the Iranian present-day provinces of Azerbaijan and Ardabil.[139]

136 Ibid., 429. See also Patrick Donabedian, Lucy Der-Manuelian, Steven Sim & Argam Aivazyan, *The Destruction of Jugha [Julfa] and the Entire Armenian Cultural Heritage in Nakhichevan* (Bern: 2006).

137 Ibid., 47. In this district of Western Esfahan all the population was Armenian.

138 Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (New York: 1905), 59-171.

139 Ibid., 159.

The twelfth chapter is entitled 'Provinces of Gilan and North-Western Iran', where we find the following passage:

> The provinces of Arran, Shirvan, Georgia and Armenia, which for the most part lay north of the River Araxes, were hardly counted among the Lands of Islam, and hence were but perfunctorily described by the Arab geographers. From early days Muslims lived here. And governors were appointed at various times by the Caliphs, but the majority of the population continued to be Christian until near the close of the Middle Ages. Hence it was not until the resettlement subsequent to the Mongol invasion, and more especially after the many campaigns which Timur waged in Georgia at the close of the eighth [fourteenth] century, when these lands came to be permanently settled by the Turks, that Islam became the dominant faith.[140]

Concerning Armenia, Le Strange offers the following description:[141]

> Armenia includes Dabil, Lake of Van, Akhlat, Arjich, Van and Bitlis.[142] ... The capital of Moslem Armenia in early times was Dabil, otherwise called Duwin or Tovin, now marked by a small village to the south of Erivan, near the Aras river. In the fourth century AH [tenth AD] Dabil was a larger town than Ardabil, and was the chief place in Inner Armenia. It was a walled town, having three gates and a Friday Mosque stood here side by side with the church. Mount Ararat, with its double peak, towered above Dabil to the south, across the Araxes.[143]

For the cities of Moghan, Arran, Shirvan and Georgia, Le Strange lists:[144]

> District of Moghan:
> Bajervan, Barzand, Mohammadabad, Warthan.
> Province of Arran:
> Bardha'a, Baylakan, Ganja & Shamakhi and the River Kur.
> Province of Shirvan:
> Shamakhi, Bakuyeh [Baku] and Bab al-Abwab.
> Province of Gurjistan: Tiflis and Kars.

140 Ibid., 176-177.
141 Hamdallah Mostowfi al-Qazvini, op. cit., 140.
142 Le Strange, op. cit., 172.
143 Ibid., 182.
144 Ibid., 172.

In *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Azerbaijan is shown as the north-western province of Iran, and Arran, Shirvan and Moghan as what is now most of the Republic of Azerbaijan. At the same time Le Strange asserts that these three had a distinctly different culture and background from that of Azerbaijan.

Ilya Pavlovich Petrushevsky (1898-1977)

Petrushevsky was not known for his pro-Armenian sympathies, yet in his work on the analysis of the feudal systems of Azerbaijan and Armenia and concerning the meliks of Karabagh he writes the following:

> The five Armenian meliks of the mountainous part of Karabagh [were]: Gulistan [Talish], Jeraberd, Khachen, Varandah and Dizaq. Until the time of Nadir Shah they were under the beglarbegi of Karabagh and Ganja, but in 1747-49 they became vassals dependent on the Karabagh khans and the tribes of Javanshir.
>
> During the early seventeenth century the region of Kashatagh, south west of Karabagh, on the lower border of the SSR of Armenia and Azerbaijan, was governed by the hereditary Armenian melik Haykaz. This melik was known for his Iranian sympathies during the Turco-Iranian wars for the possession of Transcaucasus. Shah Abbas's decree enumerating Melik Haykaz's services to the shah has reached us.[145]

*

From all these quoted histories, travelogues and memoirs, it is clear without a doubt that in the region south of the Caucasus Range to the River Arax and further south and west, the Armenians lived and prospered from many centuries BCE and possibly far earlier. According to these very same sources, the Armenian presence has been irrefutable for many centuries in the territory of Karabagh as well as in and around the present-day cities of Shamakhi, Shaki and Ganja, part of the Republic of Azerbaijan, a fact also confirmed by the fortress city of Tigranakert founded more than two thousand years ago by the Armenian king Tigranes the Great, north of Aghdam in Karabagh (see page 71).

*

145 Ilya Petrushevski, *Ocherki po istorii feodalnykh otnoshenij v Azerbaidjane i Armenii v XVI do nachale XIX vv [Outline of the History of Feudal Relations in Azerbaijan and Armenia from the Seventeenth to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries]* (Leningrad: 1949), 136-137.

4 The methodology of appropriating the culture of others

'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house… nor anything that is thy neighbour's'
—Exodus, 20:17

It is a generally accepted theory that the majority, or at least a considerable portion of the cultural monuments in any given country belong to the indigenous people and their ancestors. But what happens when the population of a given country such as the Republic of Azerbaijan cannot identify themselves or feel related to the majority of monuments found in their territory. Could this be because they are part of the cultural heritage of 'other' people who used to live in the same territory?

If the scholars and historians of a newly-born country are given the task of owning an ancient and unique culture, there is no other way but to search and claim ownership to the culture and ancient monuments already existing on their land, notwithstanding that they may rightfully belong to others. This sort of political directive gives rise to the policy of destruction and elimination of those existing cultural monuments and examples of history which cannot be altered and subsequently appropriated. Such a policy rids the country of 'unfitting' and 'foreign' monuments by eradicating their traces, acts which can only be termed as 'cultural cleansing'. In such cases the subsequent stage is a subconcious action that in psychological terms is called 'projection'. In layman's terms, this is the case when the person accuses the other for what wrong he/she has done himself/herself, thus shifting the blame to the opposite side.

Kaveh Farrokh, a historian at Vancouver University, has studied the relationship between the cultures of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan,

including the attitude, position and actions taken by the Azerbaijani authorities regarding the Iranian culture and heritage that dominated their territory for almost 400 years until 1828, when all of these territories were ceded to Russia. He shows how the scholars of Baku and Shirvan, since the middle of the nineteenth century, began the campaign of demeaning and degrading Iranian culture, which was the dominant one until the territory was ceded to Russia. This attitude continued during the Soviet period and was promoted after independence, claiming the superiority of Azeri-Turkish culture. Meanwhile, they appropriated any important cultural heritage from Iran that they found relevant.[1]

The anti-Armenian and anti-Iranian policies of the Azerbaijani authorities, as well as other steps taken by them, fully correspond with the actions that began during the nineteenth century, carried out in three stages:

1. Appropriation of monuments, scientists, literary figures and scholars of other nations, thus making their claims on the lands, regions and countries apparently more legitimate.
2. Destruction of anything that may appear to be contradictory to the disseminated fabrications, including literature, monuments and memorials.
3. Meanwhile falsely accusing others, in this case the Armenians, of the destruction of monuments.

Appropriation or destruction of historical monuments

As seen in the previous chapters, Azerbaijan's National Academy of Sciences has made a habit of publishing 'scientific' papers and books filled with conjecture. Monuments found in the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan, including Karabagh, which has been declared independent from Azerbaijan, can be divided into two distinct categories. The first comprises the numerous Christian monuments, including monasteries, churches, chapels, tombs, khachkars and other buildings, built mainly by the indigenous Armenians and a few by the Christian Albanians, most of whom converted to Islam in the Middle Ages and who have survived as the small group of Udis, a few thousand of whom presently live in the villages of Nij and Vartashen. The monuments in the second

1 Kaveh Farrokh, 'The Process of de-Iranization of Caucasian Azerbaijan (1828 to present)', presented during the Second International Conference on Taleshi Culture, Yerevan 12-13 November, 2011, in *Iran and the Caucasus* (Leiden: 2012). See also http://www.kavehfarrokh.com/2011/11/.

category are the much less numerous Islamic tombs, caravanserais and mosques built by the invading Arabs, followed up by the Mongols, Tatars, Seljuks and other Turkic tribes, but mostly by the Persians during their domination of the area from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. These Islamic monuments are much less frequently encountered in Karabagh itself.

As already seen, the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan spare no effort and means to appropriate all the Christian churches and monuments found not only in Azerbaijan and Karabagh but also in neighbouring countries. If successful in their quest they will become the proud owners, albeit by the process of appropriation, of more than 2,500 years of history and culture. This has no connection with their past but rightfully is the heritage of other peoples who lived in the area until recently and who are quite different in terms of ethnicity, language, culture, religion and civilization, i.e. the Armenians as well as the Caucasian Albanians.

The appropriation of cultural monuments in the Republic of Azerbaijan began in earnest in the 1960s. One of the books that uses distorted facts towards this end is D. A. Akhundov's *The Architecture of Ancient and Early Medieval Azerbaijan*, the fallacy of which begins with the title since it refers to the region north of the Arax and not the north-western province of Iran, Lesser Media.[2] Other examples of appropriating, this time of churches, are the St Hovannes church in Ganja and St Eghishe church in Nij. In the first case all the Armenian inscriptions and carvings were chiseled off the walls and the church converted to a concert hall. In the second case, the Armenian inscriptions on the walls were removed during 'renovations', which caused an international scandal.[3]

The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan serves the same purpose, as we have seen already. Published in 2007 by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Tourism and Culture, with the support of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, the book boasts as its authors a member of the Azerbaijani National Academy of Sciences, Budagh Budaghov and corresponding members of the academy Vali Aliyev, Jafar Ghiasi and Mashadikhanum Nemat. Against their scholarly calling and duty, the foursome have attained the apogee of falsification and fabrication. An example previosuly noted is the caption for a map of the Republic of

2 Davud Aqa Oghlu Akhundov, *Arkhitektura drevnego i ranno-srednevekogo Azerbaidjana [The Architecture of Ancient and Early Medieval Azerbaijan]* (Baku: 1986).

3 For details and photos of both churches, see Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History*, 2009, op. cit., 63-65, 69-71.

Armenia which instead reads: ‘Map of Western Azerbaijan, historical homeland of the Oghuz Turks, presently occupied by the Armenians’.[4]

According to the authors, the lands on which over two and half millennia Armenia has existed actually belongs to Azerbaijan, a country whose name appeared in the geographical region only in 1918, a fact that is confirmed even by Azerbaijan’s closest ally and supporter Turkey. According to the Turkish *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the country located north of the Arax River was named Azerbaijan in 1918.[5] Furthermore, the Azerbaijani authors either have no knowledge or pretend that they are unaware of the historical facts that the Oghuz Turkic tribes from Central Asia reached the Caucasus, Iran and Asia Minor only in the Middle Ages, a fact confirmed by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, trusted as the Islamic world’s major source of reference. Should we believe Alakbarli’s book, we have to accept that the tribes of Central Asia are, in fact, indigenous to Asia Minor and Caucasus, and that all the pre-Christian temples, Urartian palaces and monuments found in Armenia and Asia Minor belong to the Oghuz Turks, who, by all other accounts are newcomers to the region.

The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan contains images of all the important ancient and medieval monuments found in Armenia, to which captions are added that contain their newly assigned titles and provenance. Without exception each is claimed to be part of Azerbaijani culture and tradition. They include the millennia old monoliths of Zorats Karer (Karahunj) near Goris, the rock carvings of Ukhtasar, all Armenian monasteries such as Tatev, Gandzasar, Goshavank, Haghardzin, Sanahin, Haghpat and Sevan, as well as the Urartian fortresses and khachkars. Below are examples taken from the book:

Pages 28-29: Pictures depict the Urartian fortress of Teishebani near Yerevan dating from around the eighth century BCE.
The inscription reads: ‘Ancient Turkish fortress’.

Pages 30-32: Photos of the Graeco-Roman temple of Garni, some 25 kilometres east of Yerevan, dating from the first century CE.
The inscription reads: ‘Garni Turkish temple and fortress’.

Pages 50-51: Photos show the monastery of Khor-Virap at the foot of Mount Ararat, where St Gregory the Illuminator, who converted Armenia to Christianity was imprisoned.
The inscription reads: ‘Ancient Turkish temple’.

4 Aziz Alakbarli, *Les Monuments d’Azerbaijan Ouest* (Baku: 2007), 7.
5 *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: 1942), book 12, 91-92.

Pages 60-61: The Cathedral of Holy Echmiadzin, the centre of the Armenian Church and dating from the fifth century.
In the book this is described as 'Uch Kilissa. Armeno-Turkish temple, of the seventh century'.

Pages 90-91: The monastic complex of Goshavank, a medieval Armenian university dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some 120 kilometres north-east of Yerevan.
It is described as: 'Gochavang: Armenian-Turkish temple of the eighth-ninth century'.

Pages 98-99: Photos depict the seventh-century Armenian monastery and university of Tatev.
It is described as: 'Albano-Turkish Christian temple'.

Pages 106-107: The monastery of Haghpat in northern Armenia, dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries.
It is described as: 'Aghbat Turkish temple'.

Pages 126-127: Photos of the Haghardzin monastery and learning centre, dating from the tenth to fifteenth centuries.
It is described as: 'Agharchin, Albanian-Turkish temple'.

Pages 148-149: Photo of one of the churches of the Armenian monastery of Noravank, built by the Orbelian princes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
It is renamed as: 'Amagou, Oghuz Turkish monument'.

Pages 154-155: The monastery of Saghmosavank (Monastery of the Psalms) dating from the thirteenth century.
It is described as: 'Turkish-Christian temple of Soghmasavang'.

The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan is therefore a book that presents immense problems for the international community of historians and ethnologists, since they are now compelled to find explanations for the terms 'Turkic-Christian', 'Albano-Turk' and many others, who during the past two millennia built scores of monasteries and churches and thousands of other Christian monuments.

Another pseudo-academic publication serving a purely propaganda purpose is Igrar Aliyev's and Kamil Mamadzadeh's multilingual volume Albanian Monuments of Karabakh.[6] In this volume Karabagh is presented as one of the

6 Igrar Aliyev & Kamil Mamadzade, *Albanskie pomyatniki Karabakha [Albanian Monuments of Karabagh]* (Baku: 1997).

beautiful corners of Azerbaijan, without mentioning that this mainly Armenian populated enclave has now declared its independence from the Republic of Azerbaijan. A number of significant Christian Armenian churches and monasteries are presented as Albanian, such as the church of Aghoghlan (Tsitsernavank, sixth-seventh cc.), Khudavank (Dadivank, ninth-thirteenth cc.), Amaras (fifth c.), St Eghishe the Apostle (fourth-fourteenth cc.) and Gandzasar (ninth-thirteenth cc.). In the book these are presented as examples of old Albanian architecture built by the Albanians, notwithstanding the fact that during the construction of these monuments and, particularly during the periods when they were restored and expanded, most of the Albanian population had already converted to Islam. From the original Christian Albanian population of the region only a small and insignificant minority of a few thousand remained Christian. This does not prevent Aliyev and Mamadzadeh from overlooking the wealth of Armenian language inscriptions and carvings that can still be seen on these monuments, left by their constructors. If cornered, the Azerbaijani historians offer the (still unsubstantiated) explanation that this was the result of the enforced armenicisation of the Albanian language by the Armenians, while also claiming that no Armenians had ever lived in the territory until the 1828-30.

As stated above, the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan have an alternative solution for their problematic past, namely the complete annihilation of the offending monuments. Their motto is clearly: 'Appropriate all historical and cultural monuments—if not possible, destroy them!' For the fabricators and rewriters of Azerbaijani history this is a far simpler choice of action, since their destruction can later be denied and if needed, it can be attributed to wars and earthquakes, while still claiming they all had originally been Albanian monuments. Other methods used after the monuments are destroyed include denying the actual existence of the destroyed monuments, or, when this is not physically possible, blaming the Armenians for the destruction of the same monuments. While cleansing their territory in recent years of 'alien' (i.e. Armenian) monuments, all these methods have been used by the Azerbaijani authorities and scholars, at the same time inventing new versions of history to justify the truth of these conjectures.[7]

7 For details, see also Samvel Karapetian, 'The Annihilation of Armenian Monuments in Azerbaijan', in *The Reasons and Lessons of the Armenian Genocide*, (Yerevan: 1995), part 2, 30, 31; Samvel Karapetian, *Armenian Inscriptions of Albania Proper* (Yerevan: 1997), book 1, 48-49; Harutyun Marutyan, *Iconography of Armenian Identity: The Memory of Genocide and the Karabagh Movement* (Yerevan:

A compelling example of the annihilation of Armenian monuments was that of the medieval Armenian cemetery and tombstones of Julfa, on the northern shores of the Arax, which Azerbaijani historian Davud Aqa Oqlu Akhundov claims as 'Albanian monuments'.[8] Even this appropriation and assignation of Albanian origin failed to spare the monuments from total destruction. The only fault of these stone slabs was that their intricate carving contained Armenian motives, texts and names. Since the 1960s Azerbaijani scholars have claimed these distinctively Armenian khachkar tombstones as belonging to Albanian culture, yet they were completely destroyed in a succession of steps from 1996 onwards, culminating in the breaking up of the stone tombstones and khachkars by Azerbaijani military conscripts in 2005, after which the site was converted into a military target practice field. The authorities in Iran raised the alarm and the acts of the Azerbaijanis were filmed and photographed from the Iranian side of the Arax.[9]

The sequence of the final international protests against the destruction was as follows. On 16 January 2003, Catholicos Garegin II, the religious leader of Armenia, wrote to Sheikh ul-Islam Allahshukur Pasha-Zadeh, the religious leader of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Muslims of the Caucasus, expressing concerns over the destruction of the Armenian medieval cemetery in Nakhichevan (the present-day autonomous republic under Azerbaijani control) and asking for his counterpart's support in saving these important medieval monuments (letter ref. 176, 16.01.2003).

On 27 February, the Sheikh ul-Islam replied (letter ref. 194, 27.02.2003) saying that the catholicos had been misinformed and that there was no cause to worry about the monuments.

On 13 February, Antje Vollmer, vice-president of the Bundestag, the German parliament, telephoned the Azerbaijani ambassador in Germany, Huseynaga Sadigov, enquiring about the news of the destruction of the Armenian cemetery in Julfa. After a delay of more than four months, on June 24 the ambassador finally replied:

2009), 295, in Armenian; Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History*, 2010, op. cit., 70-100; Samvel Karapetian, 'The State of the Armenian Monuments in Azerbaijan', *Va rdzk* (Yerevan: 2010-2011), vol. 3.

8 Akhundov, op. cit., iv.6.2.

9 Armen Haghnazarian, *Julfa: The Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery by Nakhichevan's Azerbaijani Authorities* (Yerevan: 2006). See also Patrick Donabedian, Lucy Der-Manuelian, Steven Sim & Argam Aivazyan, *The Destruction of Jugha and the Entire Armenian Cultural Heritage in Nakhichevan* (Bern: 2006); Haik Demoyan, *Azerbaijan: Vandalism as Usual* (Yerevan: 2010); Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination* (London & Yerevan: 2007), 73-88.

> I beg your understanding for the delay in my reply. I needed time to research the problem and reply to this complicated historical-political issue.
> There existed and still exists an ancient cemetery in the above-mentioned region, whose history goes back to the fourth century. In the Armenian sources this cemetery is named 'Khatkara' ['khachkar'?], which belonged to the pre-Islamic Azeri culture, at the time known as Caucasian Albania. The allegations about their destruction, fortunately, do not correspond with the truth. The cemetery is located on a seismically active zone and its upright parts, over the centuries, have fallen due to centuries of seismic activity.[10]

To the question of the security of the Julfa cemetery, the sheikh ul-Islam and the ambassador both replied, 'there is no cause to worry', while at their time of writing many tombstones had already been broken up.[11] These are clear misrepresentations of the true state of the cemetery.

The European Parliament has formally called on Azerbaijan to halt the demolition, which breaches the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.[12] The Azerbaijani authorities continue to claim there has been no destruction of historical monuments, yet they have until today barred any European or European Union representative from visiting the site, which can clearly be seen from the Iranian side across the river as a recently built military zone, replacing the splendour of the richly carved medieval tombstones. Nevertheless, UNESCO has taken no further action save issuing statements.

Such acts pursued by the Azerbaijani authorities are driven by their policy of 'if possible appropriate it, if not destroy it'. This same policy has been apllied with the greatest efficiency in the rest of the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan, where once over one hundred monasteries, churches and other Christian monuments stood. None can be found now.[13] It should also be mentioned that since 1926 the authorities of this autonomous republic prevented the return to Nakhichevan of any local Armenian, who for any reason had even temporarily left his or her homeland. This included those who during 1920-22 were forcefully removed from their

10 Translation of two of the paragraphs of the letter of Ambassador Sadigov's letter dated June 24, 2003, Berlin, addressed to Antje Vollmer, vice-president of the German Parliament.

11 The last three paragraphs are taken from the author's book, *The Invention of History*,2010, op. cit., 90-91, which contains further details of the destruction.

12 European Parliament Resolution on the European Neighbourhood Policy (Brussels: EU, January 2006).

13 Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History*, 2010, op. cit., 86-89.

ancestral towns and villages as part of the de-armenicisation of the area started by Turkey and continued by the communist Azerbaijani authorities.[14]

Appropriation of scholars and writers

The Azerbaijani arsenal has yet another weapon: the appropriation of significant historical and literary figures of neighbouring peoples irrespective of their ethnic origin, announcing them as having Albanian and Azerbaijani origin. A small proportion of these individuals are described below.

Movses Kaghankatvatsi

The scholars of the Republic of Azerbaijan insist that Movses Kaghankatvatsi (or Daskhurantsi) is an Azerbaijani historian.[15] Aside from the fact that Kaghankatvatsi wrote in Armenian, these fabrications have been common and widespread such that Audrey Altstadt describes Movses as 'the Albanian historian Moisei Kaghankatli'.[16] This is a good example of how fabrications can become true if allowed to be unchallenged and so even inattentive specialists start to fall into the trap.[17]

Nizami Ganjavi

The Iranian poet Nizami Ganjavi (1141-1209), who did not write even one line in Turkish, was born at the time in the mainly Iranian-populated city of Ganja.[18] He is claimed to be Azerbaijani, since his birthplace, Ganja, is now located inside their territory.[19] The 500 manat banknotes issued from 1993 to 2006 by the Azerbaijan's Central Bank carried the portrait of Nizami as their national poet, and in 2008, on the occasion of 800th anniversary of his death, the bank issued 100 manat memorial gold coins.[20]

14 Vladimir Khojabekyan & Bagrat Asatryan. 'Nakhijevani hayutyan patmutyunits' ['From the History of the Armenians of Nakhichevan'], *Sovetakan Mankavarzh [Soviet Pedagogue]* (Yerevan: 1988/10), 37-45.
15 Victor Shnirelman, op. cit., 154.
16 Audrey Altstadt, op. cit., 6 & 12.
17 See Farida Mamedova, '*Istoriya Alban' Mojseya Kalankatujskogo kak istochnik po obshchstvennomu stroyu rannederevenskoj Albanii ['The History of Albania' of Movses Kagahankatvatsi as a Source for the Social Order of Ancient Albania]* (Baku: 1977). Mamedova's book, edited by Zia Buniatov, is the subject of a critical article by Bagrat Ulubabyan, see *Newsletter of the Archives of Armenia*, 1979/2, 219-232.
18 See page 100.
19 Heydarov & Bagiyev, ed., op. cit., 105.
20 See the many websites and discussions on this subject, including http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nizami_Ganjavi and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3ANezami/Archive_4.

Nasir al-Din Tousi

The scientist, mathematician, astronomer and scholar Nasir al-Din Tousi (1291-1274), was born and raised in the eastern Iranian city of Tous, in the province of Khorasan, a long way from Azerbaijan. During his life he was astronomer to the Mongol Hulagu Khan, for whom in 1259, in the city of Maraghe, south of Tabriz in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, he built his famous observatory, whose foundations can still be seen today. Using the reasoning that Tousi for a year or two worked in Maraghe and built the observatory there, the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan claim him to be Azerbaijani.[21]

Esai Hasan Jalaleants

Zia Buniatov presents the Armenian religious leader Esai Hasan Jalaleants (d. 1728), the writer of *A Concise History of the Region of Aguank [Albania]*, as an Albanian historian, without any due consideration of the fact that he was born into the Armenian princely family of the meliks of Khachen. The members of his dynasty had served as religious heads of the Armenian monastery of Gandzasar, where Esai was also catholicos, and which still stands today in Karabagh. Esai wrote about the Armenians and their faith, while also calling himself an Armenian, e.g. 'There are also [sources] from our Armenian nation: the reliable Agatangelos; the man of God, Movses Khorenatsi.'[22]

Buniatov's rewriting parts of Jalalents' history is discussed on page 50.

Shahriar

The Iranian Azerbaijani poet Hussein Bahjat-Tabrizi, better known as Shahriar (1906-1988), was born in Tabriz and attended university in Tehran. Since he was from the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, which the authorities of the Republic have appropriated and now call 'Southern Azerbaijan', the Azerbaijani authorities now call Shahriar an Azerbaijani poet.[23]

There are many other Iranian scholars and activists who have been appropriated by the Azerbaijani scholars and authorities, among them Fazl-Ullah Hamadani, Haji Chelebi, Javad Khan Ganjavi and others, simply because they happen to have worked in that region.

21 Tale Haydarov, op. cit., 94.
22 Esai Hasan Jalaleants, *A Brief History of the Aghuank Region*, trans./annotated George Bournoutian (Costa Mesa CA: 2009), 32.
23 Tale Heydarov, op. cit., 106.

Aggression and its projection employed for destruction

Among the psychological mechanisms that are subconsciously initiated at the time of stress are the mechanisms of 'transfer of aggression' and the subconscious 'projection' of the deed of aggression. Psychological defense mechanisms effectively act in reducing anxiety caused by unwanted and unacceptable situations. In the first instance, for self defence and protection the individual subconsciously begins to believe in unrealistic information and to live in a world of fantasies, transferring his or her frustration towards a third party, behaving from time to time aggressively towards that person. In the case of projection, this could be translated as a reflective action and could be explained as the subconscious projection and/or shifting of blame and uneasy feelings of guilt resulting from an individual's actions onto another person or object.

On a personal level these are self-defence mechanisms and processes, which subconsciously prevent the individual from mental suffering and experiencing uneasy, unacceptable and disturbing feelings and thoughts. The individual subconciously uses these mechanisms by detaching them from the self and relating them to another party, thus transferring his/her aggression onto the other person thus ridding the self of the feelings of guilt and unease. In fact the self is protected by this transferance and connecting of the physical and psychological difficulties to another party.

An individual's transfer of their own aggression can be affected through the direct transfer of this aggressive feeling and behaviour onto the opposite party, or in case of the absence of such a counterpart, directed towards a third party not at all related to the problem, whereby the feelings of aggression and hostile behavior are attributed to that third party, ridding the self from the aggressive and disturbing feelings.

In the case of projection a typical example is the one whereby the parent(s) see their difficulties and phobias in their children. The parent referring a child to the psychiatrist might attempt to convince the psychiatrist that the child has fear of the dark (achluophobia) or claustrophobia, while in fact it is the parent who has these problems yet subconsciously projects his/her own problems onto the child.[24]

These phenomena of transfer of aggression and projection have been researched for individual behaviours relating to family and friends, but they

24 K. Gasparyan & M. Melik-Pashayan, *Bzhshkakan hogebanutyun [Medical Psychology]* (Yerevan: 1995), 62-64.

can also be seen from a wider perspective, i.e. families, clans, larger groups of people and even nations. In the case of group behaviour, members of a family may project their negative feeling towards another group or family by blaming members of the other group for taking a dislike to them and behaving aggressively towards them. This subconscious behaviour rids the first group members from the feeling of guilt by directing the same towards the members of the other group, meanwhile protecting their conscience, asserting their innocence and ridding them of any possible responsibility. By further enlarging of the group, the behaviour of projection can be seen in national and international relations with neighbouring nations.

The behaviour and propaganda campaigns of the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan have all the hallmarks of these psychological traits, which, surpassing the personal, have been elevated to a national level. Following the destruction perpetrated as a result of the anger and aggression towards all Armenian monuments, this has propelled them to target, project and transfer their feelings towards other nations, blaming their neighbours for their guilty deeds, in this case the Armenians, thus trying to get rid of their own responsibilities for the destructive acts committed.

Another pertinent psychological phenomenon is group favouritism whereby anything positive is attributed to the self or 'own' people and all that is negative and evil is attributed to the other side, the enemy. This is a phenomenon that is clearly visible in all the workings of the Azerbaijani propaganda machinery, which openly calls the Armenians their enemies.

The vain search for ancient or medieval history has created a feeling of frustration among the Azerbaijani politicians, historians and scholars, which then has given rise to aggressive behaviour. This frustration manifests itself through the planned wholesale destruction and disfiguration of all cultural and religious monuments in their territory which are not seen as directly belonging to the present-day population of the land.

The projection of guilt following these actions aims at ridding the Azerbaijani authorities of their own guilt for the destruction perpetrated, and blame their imaginary foes for wreaking similar acts. Below are a few examples of psychologically initiated projections and transfers, which have increased dramatically during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The most prominent and extreme manifestation of aggression is the wholesale destruction and elimination of all the Armenian churches, monasteries and monuments in Nakhichevan, where the local population has been expressly forbidden to mention that Armenians ever existed or lived

there. The guilt presented by those Armenian religious monuments and other obviously Armenian buildings, some of which were elaborately decorated and carried Armenian language inscriptions and motifs, was that they were far more numerous than the local Islamic monuments built centuries later. In Nakhichevan the most important monument that was destroyed and erased from the face of the earth was the medieval Armenian cemetery of Julfa, which belonged to the World Heritage and contained thousands of huge and intricately and decoratively medieval carved tombstones.

The book *War Against Azerbaijan* includes many low-definition satellite photos of Armenian historical monuments in the territory of Karabagh,[25] claiming them to be Azerbaijani-Albanian and blaming the Armenians for their destruction after the Karabagh conflict. The book contains a list of more than 1,800 buildings and monuments which the Armenians have supposedly destroyed.[26] The reality is that the vast majority of these are modern dwellings destroyed as a result of the war fought in the territory. Furthermore it can be shown that the majority of the true cultural monuments are in fact standing and, in the case of monasteries, most have even been renovated and revitalized.

As mentioned above, in spite of, or rather, because of the satellite photographs included in the book, it can be seen that many of the so-called 'destroyed' monuments are in fact intact. The authors of the work have not even been able to properly present their case, namely the 'projection' of blame onto the Armenians. For example, the Islamic tombs in the cemetery of Aghdam are claimed to have been destroyed by the Armenians, and yet the satellite image in the book shows the very same monuments are upstanding, since their cast shadows are visible in the photos. The author visited Karabagh in 2009 and photographed the many intact tombs that the book claims to have been destroyed. The same is repeated for the Islamic tombs of Ughurlu Beg, Mir-Ali and Kangarli and countless others, which are open for inspection by all visitors.[27]

Yet another example is the summer palace of Melik Haykazun (Azerbaijanis have renamed it 'Hamza Sultan'), located two kilometres south of the monastery of Tsitsernavank. *War Against Azerbaijan* claims the palace to have been destroyed by the Armenians, yet a visit to the site will show that the

25 For further details, see Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History*, op. cit.
26 Imranli, op. cit.
27 See Rouben Galichian, *The Invention of History*, 2010, op. cit., 60-65.

building was renovated and since 2007 has been used as a guesthouse.[28]

The above are typical examples of the application of psychological 'projections' and 'transfers' in larger, national contexts, whereby the Azerbaijani authorities blame the Armenians for most of the destruction actually committed by themselves. The psychological defense mechanisms prove that those who have feelings of guilt always search for scapegoats to relieve themselves of their own unwanted guilt.

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28 Ibid., 58-59.

5 History viewed through the cartographic record

'Geography is a representation in picture
of the whole known world together
with the phenomena which are contained therein'
—Ptolemy, second century

The map is a document which is the most frequently owned and used all over the world. In prehistoric times, when maps as such did not exist and writing had not yet been developed, humans still had a vision and concept of their surroundings, which, according to their ability, they transmitted to others by means of scratching signs in the earth or sand. Later, they carved more permanent lines on stone or painted them on rocks.

The oldest objects bearing a resemblance to some sort of map are the boundary lines of habitations and rivers, in the form of the rock carvings we know as petroglyphs. These have been discovered in Denmark (Finn province), France (Mont Bego), Italy (Bedolina, Ponte San Rocco), Russia (Maikop), Armenia (Sevan, Oukhtasar) and elsewhere. Maps therefore in some sort of shape and form have existed since before the Bronze Age—some drawn on clay tablets have been dated as being 8,000 years old[1]—while, to our knowledge, carved or written text of any sort first appeared only several millennia later.

One of the unique characteristics of a map is that with a single glance it conveys to the observer its whole content. On the other hand, in order to be comprehended, a written document has to be read, which can take an appreciably longer time. In many cases the content of a map cannot be explained by the written language, while at other times a geographical description may be difficult to reproduce on a map.

1 Leo Bagrov, *History of Cartography* (Cambridge: 1964), 31. These include the city plans found near Catal Hyuk and the cadastral plan drawn on a clay tablet found in Harran, Iraq. See the website http://www.henry-davis.com/MAPS/AncientWebPages/100B.html.

Many medieval manuscripts have reached us in more than one version. In such cases, when the manuscript contains a map, quite often the maps in various copies of the same manuscript differ appreciably, each being presented in quite a different manner, style and colouring. Copying a written text is not difficult and the difference in the copies of the same work generally manifests itself simply in the calligraphy. However, when it comes to copying the maps the matter becomes more complicated. In order to do so, the copier must have additional artistic qualifications, but these may still not be sufficient for preparing good quality copies of the original. The taste and skill of the copier who has little knowledge of geography could alter the appearance of the map to such an extent that it may be difficult to reconcile the copy with the original. These extreme cases can be seen in the maps of Bishop Isidore of Seville (Figs 13 and 14), as well as the world maps of Beatus of Liebana (Figs 15, 16 and 17).

From the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, the arts and sciences in most of Christian Europe were under the direct influence and control of religion and religious dogmas, while in the Islamic world scholars and artists were given freedom to work and develop without any such restrictions of direct control. This resulted in major advances in mathematics, medicine, chemistry, physics and other sciences and arts, far surpassing those of the Christian world. Cartography and geography were among the sciences that leapt forward through the study and translation of Graeco-Roman literature and theories, developing them according to the latest discoveries already made by scientists and scholars of the Islamic world. In other words, the Persian and Arab geographers translating the works of the Graeco-Roman geographical and cartographic culture became their true inheritors, developing them without restraint. This included the adoption of the spherical form of the earth and the division of the habitable world into seven climatic zones. From the ninth century onwards Islamic cartography flourished for more than five centuries, surpassing that of the western world. From the fourteenth century onward, these advances were slowed down due to the increasing interference of religion in the scientific world and the corresponding economic growth of the western nations.

When the Ottoman tribes approached and threatened Constantinople in the mid-fifteenth century, ultimately conquering Byzantium, some of the valuable Greek manuscripts kept there were sent to Italy for safekeeping, among them Ptolemy's *Geography*. The west became familiar with this most important cartographic work when the Byzantine scholar Emmanuel

(Manuel) Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415) translated it from Greek into Latin.[2]

In the west, the science of cartography had stopped in its tracks obeying the dogmas and dictates imposed by the religious leaders of Western Christianity and so spent the next millennium (approximately 400-1400 CE) in a stagnant state. This changed when the western scholars became familiar with Ptolemy's Geography, which helped to break their bounds and open up hitherto closed directions of research.[3] Thus this second-century cartographer played a key role in the development of science during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

By definition a map cannot intentionally lie or convey incorrect information. But of course this is applicable only in the case of physical, topographic, hydrographic or similar maps, where the cartographers put in their best efforts to present the truth as closely as possible and as known. When it comes to political maps, which include country names and boundaries, the matter becomes more complicated. In some cases such maps are drawn to convey propaganda messages or are made to serve the aims of political leaders. The results, instead of showing the truth is to distort it.[4]

The Earth's topography, hydrography, oceanography and geography have changed little over the past millennia while the maps representing them have been gradually improved and become more complete. The changes that are evident in the Earth's features are due mainly to the destructive attitude of mankind and their disregard of the natural environment, examples being the destruction of the rainforests and the drying up of seas such as the Caspian and Aral as well as lakes like Sevan and Urmia. Since maps could be compared with the real state of affairs, cartographers try to present them in the most truthful manner. Up to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, maps with a few exceptions generally excluded the artificially imposed and often volatile political boundaries, and on any given region only the names of the countries and the indigenous peoples were shown.

As an example of the presence of the names of the peoples living in a given region and lack of boundaries, one can look at the occurrence of the name of Armenia in medieval and modern maps. In the Middle Ages, even after losing its independence, the name of Armenia or, in Turkish and Arabic, Ermenistan/Ermeniye can be seen on all maps of the region or even the world

2 A. E. Nordenskiold, *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography, with Reproductions of the Most Important Maps Printed in the XV-XVI Centuries*, translated by Adolf Ekelof and Clements Markham (Stockholm: 1884).

3 For further details regarding this development of cartography, see Rouben Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia* (London: 2004), 8-23.

4 See Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: 1991).

and indicated in the east of Anatolia and south of the Caucasus, since this represented the region where the Armenian peoples have always lived. This covered the approximate area from west of Lake Van and Diyarbakir to Urmia in the east and north of Lake Sevan and Lori in the north, which is seen on all the medieval maps of the Appendix. Fig. 41 shows an Ottoman Turkish map dating from 1803-4, where over the region of Lake Van and Erzrum the legend specifies 'Ermeniye—Armenia'. This tradition continued in western cartography until 1925 and sometimes even beyond, after which in order to appease Turkey and because of the ethnic cleansing already perpetrated during the World War and the Genocide of 1915, the name of Armenia was dropped from European and American maps. Fig. 48 is a map of Asia Minor published in the USA in 1925, where in addition to the Soviet Republic of Armenia, the name of Armenia still appears on the territory of the ancient Greater Armenia.[5]

Going back to travellers and explorers, their importance and influence on cartography, geography and even on history cannot be over-estimated. Their observations, although not specifically concerned with earlier history, are significant enough for historians, since they transmit first-hand information. Travellers and explorers' writings are, of course, composed under the influence of personal taste, religious and social convictions and viewpoints, and yet, taken the right way, they are reliable and complementary and thus can be used as true geographical observations.

If, for any given area the maps and accompanying descriptions prepared by different explorers and travellers mainly correspond with each other, then it may be safely concluded that these are relatively representative of the truth and reality.

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The Appendix of this book contains a selection of maps that are key to the subject and which will assist the reader in reaching a conclusion and understand the reality of the situation concerning the regions of Armenia, Iranian Azerbaijan, Arran and the Republic of Azerbaijan. The maps depicted are part of the world's cartographic heritage and span the beginning of our Common Era to the present. Over the following pages we shall discuss these maps,

5 *The Literary Digest 1925 Atlas of the World & Gazetteer* (New York: 1925), 46-47. Armenians may have been driven out or exterminated in most of their historic homelands, but they still persist in a corner of the old country.

analyzing each by checking the presence of the above-mentioned countries, their geographical locations as well as their positions relative to each other and within the region.

The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that on all the maps presented here drawn up to the twentieth century, the name of Azerbaijan appears only on the southern shores of the River Arax, as the Iranian province, and there is no Azerbaijan north of the Arax, neither of course could the terms Northern or Southern be used for this province.

Claudius Ptolomaeus (90-168 CE), known as Ptolemy

None of Ptolemy's original maps have survived but since the 1470s various Italian, German, Spanish, French, English and Swiss cartographers have prepared maps based on the descriptions and tables he has provided in the *Geography*. The tables contain more than 8,000 names and geographical coordinates of cities and towns, as well as the names of countries, lakes, seas, oceans, mountains and rivers. His tables use the Classical Greek toponyms, most of which today sound unfamiliar and differ from the current ones. When comparing maps drawn by various cartographers, it can be noted that the general features of all are very similar in shape and content, differing mainly in the style and manner of presentation and colouring.

The first map discussed in the *Geography* is the 'World Map'. The version in Fig. 08 was prepared by the German Martin Waldseemuller (1470-1520) and includes Europe shown as pink, Asia yellow and Africa white. Only major countries are mentioned and named on this map, no boundaries are shown. On the enlarged detail in Fig. 08a the area of the Near East can be seen with the Caspian Sea (Hyrcana) on the right, the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) top left and between the two we note Armenia Maior and to its left, west of the River Euphrates, Armenia Minor. Albania is north of Armenia, below the Caucasus Range and north of the River Kura. Media is south-west of the Caspian, south-east of Armenia. The name of Azerbaijan appears neither on the map, nor in the text and tables of the *Geography*.[6]

The following two maps are those of the region south of the Caucasus. Fig. 09 is entitled 'Third Map of Asia. Map of Colchis, Iberia, Albania and Armenia Maior', prepared by Leonard Holm, published in Ulm in 1482. Most of the map is taken up by Armenia Maior, extending from the Taurus Mountains to

6 For other samples of Ptolemy's maps, see Rouben Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia: The Cartographic Heritage* (London: 2004).

the Caspian. The territory south-east of Armenia is marked Media pars (part of Media, north-west Iran, as the name 'Azerbaijan' was not yet in common use), to the north of Armenia lie Colchis (Abkhazia), Iberia (main part of present-day Georgia) and Albania. Armenia Minor is at the western edge of the map. Note that the area partially occupied by the Republic of Azerbaijan bears the name Albania.

Ptolemy's next map shown in Fig. 10 is a rare one and combines Greater and Lesser Armenias on a single sheet taken from Bononie's *Atlas* of 1482 published in Rome. On the northern edge of the map the countries of Colchis, Iberia and Albania can be seen, while Lesser Media is at the eastern edge. The map is dedicated to Armenia and contains most of the toponyms listed in Ptolemy's tables dedicated to Armenia Maior and Armenia Minor.

Armenia Maior and Armenia Minor are present on all the maps described and drawn by Ptolemaic scholars, as are the countries of Albania and Media, proving beyond doubt that the last two are distinct countries, separated by Armenia Maior.

St Hieronymous or St Jerome (340-420)

St Jerome spent his life in the religious centres of Rome, Constantinople and Antioch. He was known for questioning everything, a famous debater and formidable opponent. After much travelling he settled in a Bethlehem monastery, dedicating his life to writing religious articles and the translation of the Old Testament.

Jerome also translated the *Chronicon* of Bishop Eusebius of Caesaria (260-340) from Greek into Latin. This book contains all the toponyms of the Bible, complete with their descriptions. Entitled *Presbiteri liber Hebraicum Quaestionem in Genesim, Ejustem liber de situ nominibus locum Hebraicum. Tabula Geographica ex opusculis S. Hieronimi descripto*, it is more simply known as the *Liber locorum (Book of Place-names)*[7]—and in spite of Jerome being known for his religious works, it became one of the great early medieval works of geography. In addition to the description of countries and towns, it includes two manuscript maps of the ancient world.

In Fig. 11 we can see Jerome's map of Europe, drawn in 420 CE, but the image is that of a twelfth-century copy of the map. Its borders are the Indian

7 Translated as: *'The priestly book of Hebrew questions on Genesis, the book of the locations of the place names in Hebrew. Map described from the works of St Jerome.'*

Ocean in the east (top). The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in the south (right), the Aegean Sea in the west and the Black Sea in the north. Fig. 11a is a detail of part of the map depicting the region south of the Caucasus.

Generally in medieval Christian maps drawn according to the doctrines of the religious fathers, east was always located at the top of the page, where the Terrestrial Paradise was to be found. On this map mountain ranges are shown as chains of semicircles and rivers as closely drawn double lines. Cities are represented by the shapes of miniature castles and buildings.[8]

In the detail of Fig. 11a the following may be seen:

- Armenia Superior (Greater) (9) situated between the sources of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates.
- Armenian Mountains (11) with Ararat (27) and Noah's Arc (12).
- Armenia Inferior (Lesser) (10).
- Albania (18) to the west of the Caspian (1), north of the River Arax (5).

Although the map is not quite correct, it depicts all the information regarding this area known at the time. Here we see Greater and Lesser Armenia as well as Albania (18) to their north. Instead of Media the maps show only Parthia (1). For further information on the toponyms see the table under the map.

Paulus Orosius (354-420)

The historian Orosius was born in Portugal and started his career with the religious controversies, which became his specialty. His most renowned work is the *Seven Books against the Pagans* composed around 416-417 CE, of which some 200 copies have reached us. The book contains the world history from the Creation to his days, altogether some 5,618 years. The work begins with some general information and particularly mentions the T-O type division of the world.[9] Although none of the extant manuscript copies contain any maps,

8 For details of the map refer to Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps*, 2007, op. cit., 37-39.

9 T-O maps were used in the western world from early to late Middle ages in order to depict the world. The letter O indicated the circle of the Earth, surrounded by the Oceans. The letter T was inserted inside the O with its junction in the centre of the circle, dividing the earth into the three known continents. East was at the top of the circle with Asia above the crossbar of the T, Europe to the left of the stem of the T and Africa at its right. T also marked the main waterways. The vertical stem denoting the Mediterranean Sea, the left part of the crossbar represented the River Don and the right part the Nile. For more detailed explanation of T-O map types, see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps*, op. cit., 9.

the presence of three hundred toponyms and their descriptions in the text implies one.[10]

In his discussion of countries and nations, Orosius says:

> ... beginning from the Euphrates, west of which is the Mediterranean and in the north—the mountains called Taurus—there is a land which is called Armenia. ... To the north of these mountains is Cappadocia and to its east is Armenia.[11]

The German cartographer Konrad Miller reconstructed Orosius's map using his definitions and toponyms, as shown in Fig. 12. Here, in the region of Caucasus we note the following countries and their relative positions: Albania situated north of the Caucasus and west of the Caspian, near the Caspian Gates (possibly the Daryal Pass). The two mountain ranges that cross Armenia (underlined in red) are named Montes Armeniae, Mt Caucasus and Mt Taurus. The country of Armenia is placed east of Cappadocia, north of Mesopotamia, Parthia and Media—straddling the Caucasus. Near the legend Massagatea, north of Parthia, the mountain range is named Mons Ariobarzanes, possibly 'Mountains of Azerbaijan'.

Thus according to Orosius, Albania was in the north, while Media and Mt Azerbaijan were south of Armenia.

Bishop Isidore of Seville (560-636)

St Isidore was a highly influential medieval cleric who composed a compendium of world knowledge and philosophy, thus becoming Europe's most important philosopher of classical Christianity. His compendium is entitled *Etymology* and consists of twenty books, the thirteenth of which is entitled 'The World and Its Parts', with the following book (14) entitled 'Of Physical Geography'. The volume contains a world map, which varies in form across

10 Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans: the Apology of Paulus Orosius*, trans. with introduction and notes by Irving W. Raymond, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. 26* (New York: 1936), book 1, chapter 1, part 1.

11 Paulus Orosius, *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius. Containing facsimile specimens of the Lauderdale and Cotton mss., a preface describing these mss., etc., an introduction on Orosius and his work; the Anglo-Saxon text; notes and various readings; a literal English translation, with notes; Mr. Hampson's Essay on King Alfred's geography, and a map of Europe, Asia, and Africa, according to Orosius and Alfred* (London, 1859), book 1, chapter 1, part 8.

the extant manuscript copies: some are plain and contain a minimum of information, others drawn during later centuries are more elaborate and reveal a mixture of different schools of cartography. However, all of them are presented in the tradition T-O format, with east at the top of the page and Jerusalem being the centre of the world.

With the gradual awareness of the rest of the world by western geographers, on the later copies made of Isidore's world map the names of countries slowly began to appear. In western Asia the name of Armenia appeared, often associated with Mount Ararat and Noah's Ark, while the River Arax and, in some cases, the country of Albania located north of this region are also shown. In some maps Media-Atropatene is shown, always located south of the Arax.[12]

The Mejean Map

The Isidorean map in Fig. 13 dates from twelfth-century France and is known as the Mejean Map, kept in Aix-en-Provence. This is a later map containing the names of countries in the two continents of Asia and Europe, all without boundaries. Africa is devoid of names.

Among the countries mentioned in Asia are the following:

- Armenia (1) with Mesopotamia shown at its south.
- Media, also next to Mesopotamia.
- Albania, located north of Armenia.
- Iberia, west of Albania.
- Another Armenia (Armenia Minor), next to the region of Cilicia .

The map confirms the existence of two Armenias, Greater and Lesser, as well as Albania and Media being separate countries, with Albania placed north of the River Arax.[13]

The elaborately decorated map of Fig. 14 also belongs to another copy of Isidore's *Etymology*. It is in the T-O format but contains more detail and information than its predecessors. In the detail Fig. 14a, a set of numbers have been added to some of the toponyms, which are described in the table below the map. Some of the important places relevant here are the following:[14]

12 For detailed description of Isidore's maps see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus*, 51-58; and Konrad Miller, *Die ältesten Weltkarten* (Stuttgart: 1895) vol. 3.

13 Ibid., 53.

14 Ibid., 54-56.

- Upper Albania (8) north of the Caucasian Range (19).
- Noah's Ark (4) sitting on the peaks of Mount Ararat (3).
- Montes Armenie (2, Armenian mountains) near Ararat, near the Taurus Mountains (11).
- Armenia Superior (1, Greater Armenia) shown west of the Caspian Sea (20).

This map confirms the relative positions of Armenia and Albania, with no reference to Azerbaijan.

Beatus of Liebana (c. 730-798)

Beatus was a Benedictine monk and theologian. Working in the Spanish mountains of Liebana he produced his most famous work *Commentaria in Apocalypsin*, which includes a world map. Some 26 copies of the mansucript have reached us, ten of which include versions of the map.[15]

Fig. 15 is a map from a manuscript copy of the *Commentaria*, dating from 1050 CE, found in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, and is known as the San Severe Copy. It contains a huge amount of topographic, geographical and historical information which the copier probably composed based on the texts of the *Commentaria* and other manuscripts, giving the map an almost encyclopaedic character. The map, again as with most medieval examples, is oriented with east at the top.

Fig. 16 depicts the west Asiatic part of the same map as meticulously copied by Konrad Miller during the nineteenth century. The numbers added on the map are intended to refer to the description below it. Regarding Armenia and Albania the map contains the following descriptions:

> The region [Armenia] is situated between the Taurus and Caucasus mountains, extending to the Caspian, from whose hills the River Tigris is born. Armenia is in two parts, Armenia Minor and Armenia Maior. [No. 1 on the map.]
> It [Albania] has the Caspian Sea at its east, which rises to the Northern Ocean and extends to the Meotides Marshes. [No. 5 on the map.]

The map in Fig. 17 is another copy of Beatus's map, from the manuscript kept

15 For a detailed description of the maps of Beatus, see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus*, 66-81, where three more of the monk's maps are discussed.

in the Spanish city of El Burgo de Osma and dates from 1203. This is a very decorative T-O map, oriented with east at the top, where the most striking feature is the Mediterranean Sea, depicted full of islands. The map is oval-shaped and miniatures of the Apostles are shown in various religious centres where they preached. Armenia, in large script, is located on both banks of the River Kura/Arax west of the Caspian and south of the Caucasus, which is shown with a green triangle upper left of the map, protruding from the surrounding ocean. Aluania (Albania) also appears west of the Caspian, and is placed north of the River Kura. Thus the map shows the names of Armenia and Albania to its north.

The Venerable Bede (c. 672-735)

One of the most important works of this English historian and religious philosopher was *De Natura Rerum (On the Nature of Things)*, which contained a T-O type map of the world. As seen in Fig. 18, Bede's maps also follow the accepted tradition of mapping, listing countries and peoples without showing boundaries. In this case Bede has not even shown the approximate position of the countries, listing them instead on the relevant continents. At the top of the map, in the east, we note the legend 'Asia–Paradisus' (first line). Underneath are the names of the countries in Asia, which include Parthia and Media (future Iranian Azerbaijan, second line), followed by Albania and Armenia (eighth line).[16]

The Anglo-Saxon Cottonian map (1050)

The map in Fig. 19 was donated to the British Museum by Sir Robert Cotton, one its founding members, and is hence known as the Cottonian map. It is an elaborate T-O map with east at the top with an intricately shaped Mediterranean containing a multitude of islands. The map was drawn in England but has direct links with the map prepared by Marcus Vespanius Agrippa (born 63 BCE) during the first century CE by the order of Julius Caesar.[17]

Here mountains are shown green. Red is used for the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, as well as the Nile. At the top left, behind the lion we see the Taurus Montes, where the Tigris and Euphrates have their sources (see detail in Fig. 19a). Below this range is the legend 'Montes Armenie' (1), which describes the

16 See ibid., 59.
17 See ibid., 133-135.

twin peaks of Mount Ararat, here shown sideways, with the three-storied 'Arca Noe' (Noah's Ark, 2) perched on top. Below the Ark the legend 'Armenia' (3) can be seen, although somewhat masked by the print-through. To the left of the Ark, the intricately shaped bay with two islands is the Caspian Sea (9).

In the area between the Black and Caspian Seas there are two legends. One reads 'Mons Albanorum' (Albanian Mountains, possibly the Caucasus, 8) and the other is 'regio Colchorum' (11), the region of Colchis, located northeast of the Black Sea. Hiberia (Iberia) is shown south of 'Montes Armenie' (7), between the two rivers rising from the Armenian plateau and Taurus, in the territory of Mesopotamia (6). Parthia (14) and Media (15) are shown further south. All of these names as well as others are marked with numbers and described in the list below the map detail in Fig. 19a.

Thus Armenia does appear on the map, but regarding Albania, there is only a reference to its mountains.

Henry, Archbishop of Mainz (served 1142-1153)

The map in Fig. 20 is taken from Henry of Mainz's Imago Mundi, a collection of cosmographical and geographical works including one map. The map is kept at the monastery of Sawley, in Britain, and is generally known as the Sawley World Map. It is oriented with east at the top, where the Terrestrial Paradise with its four rivers is depicted, carrying the legend 'Paradiso'.

The detail in Fig. 20a shows the area south of the Caucasus enlarged and with added numbers for toponyms whose explanations are listed below the map. In the map, Albania (10) appears further north than usual, almost north of the Black Sea (13). Armenia (1) is west of the Caspian Sea (12) and south of Hyberia (Iberia, 7). Noah's Ark appears east of the Taurus Mountains (11).

Syriac Map of Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286)

The Syriac literary figure and religious leader Grigory Bar-Ebroyo, better known as Bar Hebraeus or Abul-Faraj, was born in Malatya and died in Maragha (Iranian province of Azerbaijan), and therefore was well informed of the history and geography of the area. He was a prolific writer and became maphrian (primate) of the Syriac Orthodox Church.[18] In one of his works, *Menaret Qudhshe (Lamp of the Sanctuary)*, there is a map of the habitable world

18 For details of his life and map, see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus*, 178-180.

(the northern half of the Eastern hemisphere) of which three manuscript copies have reached us.

The map appearing in Fig. 21 and 21a is a fourteenth-century copy inserted in a dictionary dating from the fifteenth century, kept in Cambridge University Library. This is a semicircle of 210mm diameter and, as per Islamic cartography, is oriented with south at the top, the world being divided into seven habitable zones by parallel red lines. The sea and ocean shores are shown with bolder red lines and the toponyms are in Syriac, the translations of which appear on the map in Fig. 21a, prepared by Konrad Miller,[19] where some of the relevant names are numbered and listed in the table below the map.

Greater Armenia (V-11) and Lesser Armenia (V-5) are shown with their cities of Khlat (V-7), Miafarkin-Tigranakert, the pre-Christian capital of Armenia (V-9), and Lake Van (10). In between Van, Caucasus (VI-8) and the Alans (VI-4), west of the Caspian Sea (V-13) are the Caspian Gates (V-15), being the northern border of Albania. West of Armenia and south of the Caspian Sea the map shows 'Adurbaigan' (V-12), the Iranian Azerbaijan-Atropatene. The region of Shirvan (VI-3) is placed in the geographical location of Albania.

Richard of Battle (died 1326) and the Hereford Mappa Mundi

The Hereford Mappa Mundi or World Map of Hereford is undoubtedly one of the most important medieval surviving maps. It has been kept in the Hereford Cathedral since about 1290 CE. This is a T-O type map (Fig. 22) with east at the top and is 135cm in diameter. It is an encyclopaedia of mythology, history and religion, containing descriptions of some 5,000 places and events and the miniatures of many mythical animals and people.[20]

The detail in Fig. 22a shows the area of the Caucasus. Here Armenia appears at the centre (1). Noah's Ark (4) is described as sitting on the mountains of Armenia. Below it, to the right of the Ark is Armenia Inferior (Lesser, 3). Armenia Superior (Greater, 2) appears south of the Ark. On the map, Albania (20) is situated at the north-western edge of the Caspian Sea (14) next to the Caucasus Mountains. The region actually occupied by Albania in this map is named Hyrcania (16).

The map contains a number of legends related to Armenia and one on

19 Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae, Vols. 1-6* (Stuttgart: 1926-1931), vol. 5.
20 For a detailed description of the map and the legends, see Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (Turnhout: 2001).

Albania, which is placed to the north of Armenia. Media is mentioned twice in the south and east of Armenia, which are just out of the area covered by this section of the map.

Ranulf Higden (ca. 1282-1363)

Page 101 mentions this English Benedictine monk and historian, whose *Polychronicon* is the chronology of world history from the beginning to the year 1357. The book contains a world map, a copy of which is shown in Fig. 23. In the detail in Fig. 23a, the eastern part of the world appears to be enlarged, with added numerals referring to the toponyms below the map. Here we have a rare case where the countries are listed in regions with arbitrary borders separating them.

Armenia (7) appears in Asia Minor, extending to the South Caucasus—from the Pontian Taurus (4) to the Mediterranean Sea (1). Albania (8) is located far north of the Caucasus (3). Parthia (10) and Media (13) are shown further east of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The Ebstorf Map of Gervase of Tilbury (ca. 1150-1228)

This map was made in conjunction with the book *Otia Imperialia (Recreation for an Emperor)*, prepared for the Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV. [21] This is a religious map, with a wealth of mythical, historical and religious information. It was the largest (3.55m diameter) surviving Mappa Mundi (World Map) which regrettably was destroyed in 1943 during an Allied air raid on Hanover.

The multitude of legends and texts on the map include much about Armenia and Albania and nothing about Azerbaijan or Media. A selection of legends from this map appear in the Appendix, under the partial detail of a recreated Ebstorf Map depicted in Fig. 24. The items refer to the numbers on this map.

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Over the following pages some of the important Islamic maps of the area of South Caucasus, as seen in Fig. 25 to 30 of the Appendix, will be discussed and analyzed.

21 For further details of the map and its content see Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, trans. S. E. Banks & J. W. Binns (Oxford: 2002); and *EbstorferMappa Mundi* (Germany: 2004).

Ibn Khordadbeh (ca. 820-912)

This geographer is mentioned on page 83. Here we discuss his map shown in Fig. 25, which is taken from a Russian translation of his geography book *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (Book of Roads and Realms)*.[22]

The map is a Russian translation of the original, entitled 'The Map of Arran, Azerbaijan and Armenia', as it covers the South Caucasus and north-western Iran. Azerbaijan is placed south of the River Arax, while the regions to the north of the river are named Tabarsaran (Tabasaran), Shaki, Shirvan, Moghan, etc, which are all placed in the territory of Arran. Even this map, printed in Baku, makes abundantly clear that Azerbaijan is a country south of the Arax and not to its north. According to this Islamic geographer Arran and Azerbaijan are two separate countries. It should be said that although this map has appeared in a volume printed in Baku in 1986, the geographical picture presented by this map today is denied by Azerbaijani scholars.

Al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal and al-Muqaddasi

These three are amongst the most influential Islamic geographers, whose geography texts have been discussed on pages 88-91. All these Islamic geographers name their maps covering the region of the South Caucasus as 'Map of Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan', indicating that these are considered to be the important countries of this region. All three maps follow the same manner of presentation, with north at the top, which is unusual for Islamic maps, which normally have south at the top.

The toponyms of these maps are detailed in the relevant sections of Chapter Three (pages 83-97) and in Figs. 26, 27 and 28 the actual maps may be seen. In all these maps the mass at the right-hand side of the map is the Caspian Sea with the two rivers Kura (upper) and Arax (lower) flowing into it, each represented by double lines. The territory north of the Arax and Kura is named Arran and the land south of the Arax is named Azerbaijan. Armenia is north-west and west of Azerbaijan, which includes the twin peaks or Mount Ararat. The maps show two lakes, one in the east is named Urmia or Kabutan (the Armenian name for the lake, not shown in al-Muqaddasi's map).

Following the accepted practice of the times, there are no borders on any of these maps, with towns and cities aligned along the roads leading from one to the other in straight lines. The combined presence and division of the three countries proves that they existed simultaneously with their given names. In

22 Ibn Khordadbeh, op. cit, map 10.

spite of what Buniatov says when referring to the Arab sources of the sixth to tenth centuries, such as those here, there is no implication of a 'Northern Azerbaijan' or 'Southern Azerbaijan' shown on their maps, neither is there the name 'Azerbaijan' displayed over the region north of the Arax.

Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Idris al-Sharif al-Idrisi (1099-1165)

The Arab scientist and geographer commonly known as al-Idrisi was one of those widest travelled in the known world. Born in Ceuta he studied in Cordoba, the cultural centre of Arabs in Spain. He was later appointed geographer to King Roger II of Sicily.[23]

Studying maps and portolans available at the time and complementing them with information gained during his own travels he produced the *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq (The Book of Delights for Those Who Desire to Traverse the Earth)* or simply *The Book of Roger*, in 1154. The book contains a circular map of the world with south at the top, with the habitable part divided into seven climatic zones, all according to the Islamic cartographic tradition. There then follow 70 detailed sectional maps, ten per climatic zone, each map with relevant descriptive text.

The map in Fig. 29 is one of the maps of *The Book of Roger* showing the area of Caucasus, Near East, South Caucasus and Asia Minor, drawn with south at the top.

From the towns of Armenia, Bitlis, Kalikla (Erzrum), Khlat, Arjesh, Dvin, Nakhichevan (here Nashui), Arzan and Salmast are shown. The lake at the top left is the Caspian and the green circle above is Lake Van. To render the map legible for the English reader, key toponyms on the map have been transliterated into Latin.

Even in this map of 1154, Bilad al-Waq (Arran) is north of the rivers Arax and Kura, while Azerbaijan is shown beginning south of the rivers, extending southwards.[24] The main cities of Arran mentioned here include Bab al-Abwab (Derbend), Shamakhi, Shamkhor, Varzaqan, Tiflis. From the cities of Azerbaijan only Barzand and Ardabil, those nearest to the River Arax are shown, the remaining ones being shown on the map of the next zone to the south.

23 For some of these maps and portolans, refer to Rouben Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia* (London: 2004).

24 For al-Idrisi's map of the region of Azerbaijan, see Rouben Galichian, *Countries South of the Caucasus*, 115, fig. 47; or al-Idrisi's manuscript MS Pocock 275 in the Bodleian Museum of Oxford, folio 211b-212a.

Idrisi's map also confirms that Azerbaijan is located south of the Arax and Arran is to its north, while Armenia straddles the river.

Zakaria ibn Muhammad al-Qazvini (1203-1283)

Al-Qazvini's geographical dictionary *Athar al-Bilad wa Akhbar al-Ibad (Monuments of Places and History of God's Bondsmen)* contains a world map with zonal climatic divisions, oriented south at the top. The part of al-Qazvini's 'World Map' shown in Fig. 30 is from a 1580 copy of his thirteenth-century book. Here the mountains are gilt while the seas, gulfs and rivers are silvered. There is additional information near the northern and southern poles of the map, describing the climate and the length of the days and nights in the polar regions.

The numbers added on the map in red refer to the descriptions listed under the image. Here Armenia (10) is shown on the shores of the Arax, Albania is represented by its cities of Barda'a (13), Baku (14), Shamakhi (15) and Derbend (16), while Azerbaijan is represented by its capital city of Tabriz (17), south of Armenia.

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The following are maps from well known and respected European cartographic sources, representative of the world cartographic heritage.

Philip de la Rue (1653)

This map in Fig. 31 by de la Rue is entitled 'Map of Armenia' and contains the four divisions of the state which were the administrative divisions during the rule of Emperor Justinian I the Great (483-565).

Although the map is intended to show Armenia, it includes the neighbouring territories as well. To the north-east of Armenia is Albania and to its east is part of Media, named Atropatia, once again showing that during the fifth-sixth centuries there was no Azerbaijan north of the Arax and the notions of Northern Azerbaijan and Southern Azerbaijan were unknown to cartography.

Nicolas Sanson (1600-1667)

The French cartographer Sanson prepared the map shown in Fig. 32 sometime around 1648, depicting the lands and historical countries south of the Caucasus. The map is entitled 'Armenia Maior, Colchis, Iberia, Albania' where, in addition to those indicated in the title, south of the River Arax part of Media (Media-Atropatene) is also shown.

Johannes Blaeu (1596-1673)

Johannes was a member of the Dutch cartographic Blaeu family whose *Atlas Maior* was the greatest cartographic enterprise of its time. This 12-volume work contains more than 3,000 pages and 600 or so large maps. The atlas has been published many times over and in most West European languages.

The detail shown in Fig. 33 is part of Bleau's map entitled 'The Turkish Empire' and dates from 1664-5, showing the area of Armenia occupied by the Ottoman Empire. East of Armenia is the region named Servan (Shirvan, the historical Albania), while Media (Atropatene) is shown further south-west. It must be said that maps of the area prepared by Islamic cartographers were more accurate than these western maps but the end result is the same—the supposedly ancient country of Azerbaijan does not seem to have existed.

Pierre Duval (1619-1683)

Fig. 34 is part of Duval's map of 'Asiatic Turkey' prepared in 1676. Duval was the son-in-law of Nicolas Sanson (see page 147) and was appointed as Geographer Royal of France. Here Duval has used the information provided by the Kurdish historian and geographer Abul-Fida in his *Taqwim al-Buldan* (see page 91).

In the map, most of Armenia is occupied by Turkey but the region is nevertheless called 'Armenia' and among its towns are Kars, Erivan (Yerevan), Van and Nakhichevan. Inside the territory of Iran south of the Arax, the region is named Adherbeizan among whose cities are Chui (Khoy), Ardebil, Senkan (Zanjan), Maragha and Soliame (Sultaniye), all being cities of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. North of the confluence of Arax and Kur(a) the territory is named Shirvan and Scamachie (Shamakhi).

Johann David Kohler (1684-1755)

Fig. 35 shows a map of Armenia taken from Kohler's *School and Travel Atlas* of 1718, drawn by Christoph Weigel (1654-1725) in Nuremberg, Germany.

The map is from the 'Antique World' section of the atlas and shows both Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia with their major cities and features. Here Lake Van is named 'Arsisa palus' (Lake Arjesh), which is the name of an old town on its northern shore as well as being the name of a small lake next to Lake Van. Lake Sevan is named 'Lychnites palus'. Albania and Iberia are placed north of the River Cyrus (Kura), north of Armenia. The territory south-west of Armenia, across the 'Araxes fluss' is named 'Media-Atropatene', once

again making the locations and identities of the two countries of Albania and Azerbaijan very clear.

Guillaume Delisle (de l'Isle) (1671-1726)

Delisle's father and brothers were all Paris-based cartographers, active and influential in French and Russian cartography. Peter the Great appointed them to survey the shores of the Caspian Sea and its result was the modern map that corrected past errors regarding the shape and shores of the lake. The first detailed atlas of Russia, *Atlas Russicus*, was prepared by this family. Fig. 36 is a detail of the area of the South Caucasus from Delisle's map of the 'Caspian Sea' taken from the above-mentioned Atlas of 1730.

In the detail, the regions of Armenia, Iranian Azerbaijan, Georgia and the khanates of the South Caucasus can be seen. Armenia is coloured green and is located on both shores of the Arax. Iranian Azerbaijan is named 'Aderbijan' and is the yellow coloured southern part, below Armenia, on the southern shores of Arax. It contains the regions of Mogan (Moghan), Khoy and Ourumi (Urmia). To its east is the Iranian province of Gilan. The area north of the confluence of the Kura and Arax is coloured pink and named Chirvan (Shirvan) with the constituent khanates of Chamaki (Shamakhi) and Derbend. The region north of Shirvan is Daghestan (dark green).

This eighteenth-century Russian-French map also makes it clear that the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan situated on the regions of Shamakhi, Shirvan and so on, has borrowed its name from the Iranian province to its south.

Johann Baptist Homann (1663-1724)

The map in Fig. 37 is that of the 'Ottoman Empire' from the *Atlas Novus*, published in St Petersburg in 1748. The detail shows the region of the South Caucasus, where the central area is occupied by Armenia placed on both shores of the Arax. North of the Arax the Armenian territory includes the regions of Erivan and Karabagh. The region south of Armenia and the Arax is named 'Adherbeizan', the Iranian Azerbaijan. To the north of the river, near the Caspian Sea there appears no separate country, only in the north of the Kura is a small area separated and named Schirwan, which include the city of Bacou (Baku) and Schamakhie.

This map, drawn by Homann, a German cartographer, also confirms that Azerbaijan is found south of the Arax and on the river's northern shore there is no country named Azerbaijan.

M. Robert (eighteenth century)

This map in Fig. 38 is entitled 'The Ancient Monarchies of the World' and was created in Paris in 1779. Among the monarchies in question are those of Greater Armenia, Albania, Iberia, Media-Atropatene, Assyria and Parthia.

As in all other maps Albania is situated north of the Kura, Armenia is east of the confluence of the Kura and Arax and straddles the Arax, while Media-Atropatene is south of the Arax.

Russian map (eighteenth century)

This map in Fig. 39 is from the Russian translation of a 1793 map entitled 'Asiatic Turkey, Anatolia, including Armenia, Kurdistan, Aljazeera and Iraq-Ajami' from the *New Atlas, or Collection of Maps of all the Corners of the World* printed in St Petersburg. The map is a translated copy of a French map of 1762.

In the map, the territory of Armenia is divided between the Ottoman and Persian empires. Major Armenian cities here are Yerevan, Arabkir, Kars, Van, Bitlis, Baiburt and Khlat. The region north-east of Armenia, where the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan is situated, is named Shirvan, within which are the cities of Baku and Derbend. Of the cities of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, Maragha, Tabriz and Ardabil are shown, each of which was at one time or other the capital city of the province.

Thus Armenia and Iranian Azerbaijan are shown on the map but there is no Azerbaijan to the north of the Arax, where only a few khanates can be found.

Marshal von Bieberstein (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries)

This German military leader prepared an 1800 map of the South-East Caucasus, shown in Fig. 40, entitled 'Sketch of the Lands Between the Rivers Kura and Terek Near the Caspian Sea'. This is a detailed map, drawn with an eye for military precision.

The lower part of the map shows the Rivers Arax and Kura and their confluence. North of the Kura, Schamakhie and Schiki (Shaki) can be seen, which are part of the region of Schirwan. The city of Baku is situated east of Schamakhi, in the Abscharon peninsula. Further north is the region of Tabasseran (Tabasaran) with the city of Derbend and the region of Schamchal (Shamkhor). In this region of the Southern Caucasus, previously known as Albania, there is no name of Azerbaijan, and the whole region is named Shirvan. All the regions shown in the map, such as the khanates of

Schamachie, Shiki (Shaki), Kuba, Ganscha (Ganja) and Schuschi (Shushi) represent the Iranian-controlled khanates whose territory later, during the twentieth century, was renamed the Republic of Azerbaijan.

William Faden (1750-1836)

Fig. 41 shows the Turkish translation of a map from Faden's 1778 *General Atlas* published in London. In Constantinople this atlas was translated into Turkish by Mahmud Raif using Ottoman Perso-Arabic script. The resultant volume was entitled World Atlas but its emphasis was on Turkey and from the 52 maps of Faden's original only 24 were translated and included in the Turkish atlas. The maps were, however, prepared and coloured meticulously, published in 1218 AH (1803-1804 CE), with 78 pages of descriptive texts.

The map in Fig. 41 shows the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire, where near its eastern borders, Armenia can be seen divided into the two neighbouring empires. The region between Erzrum and Van is named Ermenistan (Armenia). The names of the Armenian provinces as well some of the towns such as the Yerevan and Mount Ararat are shown. The name Azerbaijan appears south of the Arax as one of the Iranian provinces. North of the Arax there is no Azerbaijan.

It interesting to note that the Ottoman map of 1803-4 admits that its eastern provinces are in fact Armenia and Kurdistan, which the present authorities of Turkey deny.

Conrad Malte-Brun (1775-1826)

The map in Fig. 42, although from a different French school of mapmaking, has many similarities with Faden's British map. It is entitled 'Asiatic Turkey' and is taken from Brun's *Atlas Complet* published in 1812. The territory of Greater Armenia, now occupied by Turkey is called Armenia and is shown with some of its historical divisions.

The name of Eastern Armenia, at the time divided between Iran and Russia, is indicated on the region just north of the Arax River, between Yerevan and Shushi. The land south of Arax is named Azerbaidjan and Moghan. North of the Kura the region is named Chyrvan (Shirvan) and further north, Daghistan. In Shirvan, the cities of Chamakhiyeh (Shamakhi), Sheki and Bakou are mentioned, which now are in the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Derbend is situated in Daghestan.

From this map also one can deduce that Azerbaijan is the Iranian province and Shirvan is the name given to the historical region of Albania.

Karl von Spruner (1806-1892)

The map in Fig. 43 is from Spruner's *Atlas Antiquus* published in 1855 and is entitled 'Armenia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Assyria with Adjacent Regions', representing the medieval picture of the countries of the region. Historical Armenia stretches from the Caspian, to Malatya and from Lori to Diyarbekir. Countries surrounding Armenia are: in the south-east Media, Matiene, Atropatene Media Parva, (all three referring to the same territory), in the south Assyria and Mesopotamia (Iraq), in the north-east Albania, north of the Kura, in the north Colchis and Iberia, in the west Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia, Commagene and Syria.

The German cartographer also ascertains that in the ancient and medieval times there was no historical Azerbaijan, since the northern territory was Albania and that south of the Arax was Media-Atropatene.

Ottoman War Map (1877)

The map in Fig. 44 was printed by the Ministry of War of the Ottoman Empire during the Russo-Turkish wars. On the map the area between the Lake Sevan, Arax and Arabkir is called Ermenistan (Armenia). The region north of the River Kura is named Shirvan, which includes the towns of Baku and Shamakhi. Daghestan is shown further north, including the city of Derbend. The north-western part of Iran is named Azerbaijan, which includes the region of 'Karadagh' and Lake Urmia.

This is one of the last Ottoman maps to show the name of Armenia. In line with the policies of the Ottoman sultans and their successors, the Young Turks, for the creation of a purely Turkic nation, the name of Armenia was gradually eliminated from later published Ottoman maps. On the same map Azerbaijan is shown to be the Iranian province and the territory north of the river is named Shirvan.

Another cartographic reinvention can be seen in the following changes. Up to the twentieth century, in all maps, including Ottoman examples, the name Anatolia was given to the peninsula of Asia Minor, which extends from Malatya to the Aegean and Marmara seas, at the western end of the peninsula. In line with this geographical definition, the name Anatolia appears on this map and is correctly given to the land west of Malatya and Sivas. During the reign of Ataturk the general area specified by the name Anatolia was gradually changed and now the name Anatolia or Anadolu (from the Greek 'anatole' meaning 'east') is applied to the whole of Turkey, which extends much further east than the geographical Asia Minor or the old Anatolia. This was done for

political reasons, such that the names of Armenia and the Armenian Highlands, which apply to the mountainous lands east and north-east of Malatya and Sivas, are not mentioned on the territory of Turkey. This is in precisely in line with the kind of policies adopted by the present-day Azerbaijani government, such as renaming the territory of Armenia as 'Western Azerbaijan'.

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Concluding this chapter are two reconstructions of the old world. These were prepared during the nineteenth century by renowned cartographers of their time, Heinrich Kiepert and Charles Muller, and relate to the area of the Middle and Near East in ancient times.

Heinrich Kiepert (1818-1899)

Fig. 45 is the map of territory conquered by Alexander the Great, around 300 BCE. According to Kiepert the ancient countries existing at the time in that region were: Armenia, situated on the two shores of the River Arax; Media, south of the Arax, lying in the region of Melitene to Lake Sevan, and which had not yet been renamed Atropatene; and Albania, situated on the northern shore of the Kura.

Carl (Charles) Muller (1813-1894)

Fig. 46 shows a map of the same area as Kiepert's, but showing the political situation in the first century BCE, during the reign of Mithridates VI (the Great), king of Pontus, and his son-in-law Tigranes the Great of Armenia. The areas conquered by Tigranes the Great stretch from the Kura to Antioch on the Mediterranean and include Media-Atropatene. Albania is located on the northern shore of Kura and Media-Atropatene is placed on the southern shore of the Arax, inside the territory of Regnum Parthorum (Parthia-Iran).

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Conclusion

As shown in the Introduction, for more than half a century the Republic of Azerbaijan has actively pursued an agenda to prove to the rest of the world that its population represents the indigenous people of the region and thus is the direct heir of the Albanians and Oghuz Turks. This is taken a step further with the unilateral assertation that the Armenians are newcomers to the South Caucasus. At the same time, Azerbaijan openly expresses its political ambition for annexing the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan by claiming that these territories rightfully form the southern part of their nation. To this end, the Azerbaijani authorities officially engage in a process of rewriting or inventing history, one that this study has set out to document, analyse and challenge.

The material disseminated by Azerbaijan indicates that the majority of its scholars are united in the official task of inventing a tangible identity, collective memory and robust history fit for an ancient nation. However, since it follows that any fabrication on such a massive scale demands the furnishing of convincing proof, the absence here of supporting facts is problematic to say the least. The conclusions of this fabrication clash with the internationally accepted historical record that states the contrary, and so the undertaking exposes inherent errors and inevitable contradictions. Certainly, at present, the specialists employed by the Republic of Azerbaijan hold wildly contradicting theories regarding the ethnic origin and evolution of the population of their country.

Clearly this is untenable from an international viewpoint, yet it seems not to deter the authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan from their endeavours. The most immediate benefit lies in diverting the focus of the Azerbaijani people from their socio-economic troubles towards the 'enemies' whom the government blames for these very same woes. As we have seen, along with the Iranians, it is the Armenians who have been assigned this role in Azerbaijani society and politics.

Today, the Republic of Azerbaijan is a prime example of a nation that refuses to use the revenue earned from its vast oil and gas resources to improve the

living and social conditions of its people, preferring instead to enrich the tiny ruling minority who control a clan-based dynasty. A proportion of the national wealth therefore goes towards promoting a national propaganda campaign that is interlaced with anti-Iranian and anti-Armenian elements, and which is promoted in western and Islamic nations as part of Azerbaijan's bid to assert its national identity based on the myth that its present population constitutes the territory's legitimate indigenous nation. With so much at stake, it is only natural that the process is fully endorsed, supported and initiated by the highest level government officials that includes the head of state himself.

As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, if this policy of falsification of history and geography spreads unchallenged, there is the danger of it becoming accepted as fact. The ever-increasing mass of material targeted at other nations in their own languages may eventually force non-Azerbaijanis into accepting the Azerbaijani myth as a historically justified truth—particularly in the absence of readily accessible fact-based information to counter it. This is already evident in the mindset of the Azerbaijani public, whose younger generations are indelibly influenced by the propaganda promulgated in their school and university textbooks and courses. They have no choice but to believe—indeed they would be disloyal to think otherwise—that the 'newcomer' Armenians intend to expel the Azerbaijanis from the 'ancient homeland' where the latter have lived for millennia, that the Iranians oppose any reunion involving the southern part of Azerbaijan's 'historical lands'.

Thus Armenian heritage, culture and history, after lasting continuously for more than twenty-five centuries—seven centuries of which survived despite having no independent homeland—can now be distorted, altered or forgotten, allowing the Azerbaijani version of events to become the accepted norm. The same goes for accepting the invention that the Iranian provinces are part of the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Of course interested experts as well as documentary evidence, such as that offered in this book, can safeguard the truth yet they have little say in government policy and foreign relations.

This study has analysed Azerbaijani distortions and fabrications related to Armenian and Iranian historiography, culture and geography, using the historical, cultural and cartographic sources that refer to the region. As a result, the following conclusions are evident:

1. Based on the writings of the Graeco-Roman, Islamic and Christian travellers and explorers alone, Armenia and the Armenians have had a continuous presence in the territory of the South Caucasus and further south and west for at least 2,500 years.

2. Lesser Media existed south of the River Arax as the north-western province of Iran, which later was renamed Media-Atropatene, a name that was eventually transformed into Azerbaijan. It continued to be the Iranian province of Azerbaijan until the twentieth century, when it was subdivided into the three Iranian provinces of Western Azerbaijan, Eastern Azerbaijan and Ardabil.

3. The majority of the Albanian Christian tribes converted to Islam during the eighth and ninth centuries.

4. During the eleventh to twelfth centuries, historical Albania, which was situated north of the River Kura and its confluence with the Arax, gradually disappeared from the maps.

5. Up to the Middle Ages, the languages spoken in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan were not Turkic, but the Indo-European Azari dialects related to Median and Parthian. It was only during the thirteenth to fifteenth century that the local languages disappeared, being replaced by the Turkic language of the conquering newcomers but retaining the same name 'Azari/Azeri'.

6. A group of Azerbaijani historians officially claim that the Turkic tribes, who migrated from Central Asia and settled in the Caucasus and the territory of Albania, are the real forefathers of the present-day population of the land. At the same time another group claims that today's Azerbaijanis are the direct descendants of the Caucasian Albanian peoples. It seems that this choice of forefathers depends on the political expediency of the times.

7. The present-day ethnicity of the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan is a mixture of local Albanian tribes and other indigenous Caucasian peoples, Iranians (including Iranian Azerbaijanis), Tatars, Turks, Seljuks, Mongols and other nomadic tribes which roamed the area until the middle of the nineteenth century.

8. The multitude of churches, monasteries and Christian monuments built during the tenth to eighteenth centuries on the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Albania) and Karabagh could not have been built by the Islamised Albanians or the insignificant number of Udis who remained Christian in this period. Only the indigenous Armenians demonstrably had the resources to build, use and maintain these buildings.

9. The present Armenian population of New Julfa near Esfahan, resettled there from Nakhichevan and its environs in 1603-4 by Persia's Shah Abbas, is living proof of the fact that Armenians were rooted in the regions of Nakhichevan and Karabagh.

10. The wilful and indiscriminate policy of the destruction of the Christian

monuments of Nakhichevan by the Azerbaijani authorities is conclusive proof that these cannot be part of the Azerbaijani heritage left by their claimed forefathers, the Albanians, but were the product of other, politically unacceptable peoples, in this case the Armenians. Modern-day Azerbaijan has claimed the Armenian medieval cemetery of Julfa to be Albanian and hence part of Azerbaijani heritage. Yet how should one explain the wilful destruction of this supposedly Azerbaijani monument by Azerbaijani army conscripts? An act that took place before the eyes of the international community, a handful of years after the Taliban sparked international outcry by dynamiting the UNESCO-protected Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan.

11. The territories labelled 'Northern Azerbaijan' and 'Southern Azerbaijan' historically never existed. These are terms invented by modern Azerbaijani historians merely to serve their political ends.

12. According to all historical sources and travellers' accounts, a territory or country named Azerbaijan north of the River Arax did not exist until 1918.

13. Two of Azerbaijan's neighbours, i.e. Armenia and Georgia, have had their own unique scripts and written literature since the Early Middle Ages. Iran, from the seventh century, began using the Arabic script for writing Persian, as well as the Arabic language since it was common to all Islamic peoples. All three countries had used other scripts in earlier times, and have separate bodies of national literature that go back many centuries—even Turkish national literature goes back to the Middle Ages. Yet the 'historical land and people of Azerbaijan', which claims for itself more than 5,000 years of history and culture, had neither a written language nor a national literature until the late adoption of Persian as a written medium. It was only in the twentieth century that the Azerbaijanis acquired their own alphabet, one that was only recently stabilised after changing from Arabic to Latin, then to a variant of Cyrillic and again back to Latin. Save for a few texts, most literature written in Azeri-Turkish with Arabic script dates from the nineteenth century. The lack of an earlier national Azerbaijani literature is particularly evident when the local sources and literature referred to by Azerbaijani historians are in fact of Armenian, Persian and Arabic provenance.

14. Claims by the Azerbaijani authorities and academics that they follow an unbiased methodology are without basis. This is particularly evident when Azerbaijani experts refer to or translate their own historians into Modern Azerbaijani-Turkish, cherrypicking and deleting facts as part of the process while blatantly altering other details to suit the present political agenda.

Additionally, modern transliterations of older Azerbaijani books and works translated from other languages cannot be trusted either.

15. The major Graeco-Roman, Islamic, European and other cartographers, in charting the ancient and medieval world to the twentieth century, provide clear evidence that:

- Until around the fifth century Albania was situated north of the River Kura and its confluence with the Arax.
- In the Middle Ages this region was named Shirvan and Daghestan.
- Atropatene-Azerbaijan was always the north-western province of Iran, located south of the River Arax.
- Armenia constituted a major presence in the neighbourhood.
- The name Azerbaijan presently found north of the River Arax appeared after the year 1918.

The road leading to the future lies not in campaigns of conflict and hate, but mutual recognition, understanding and cooperation. A reversal of the current policies as promoted by the Republic of Azerbaijan can only help the peace process within the troubled region of the South Caucasus. Perhaps we shall arrive there eventually, after the oil and gas revenues dry up and there are no personal gains to be had by those in power.

*

Appendix of Maps

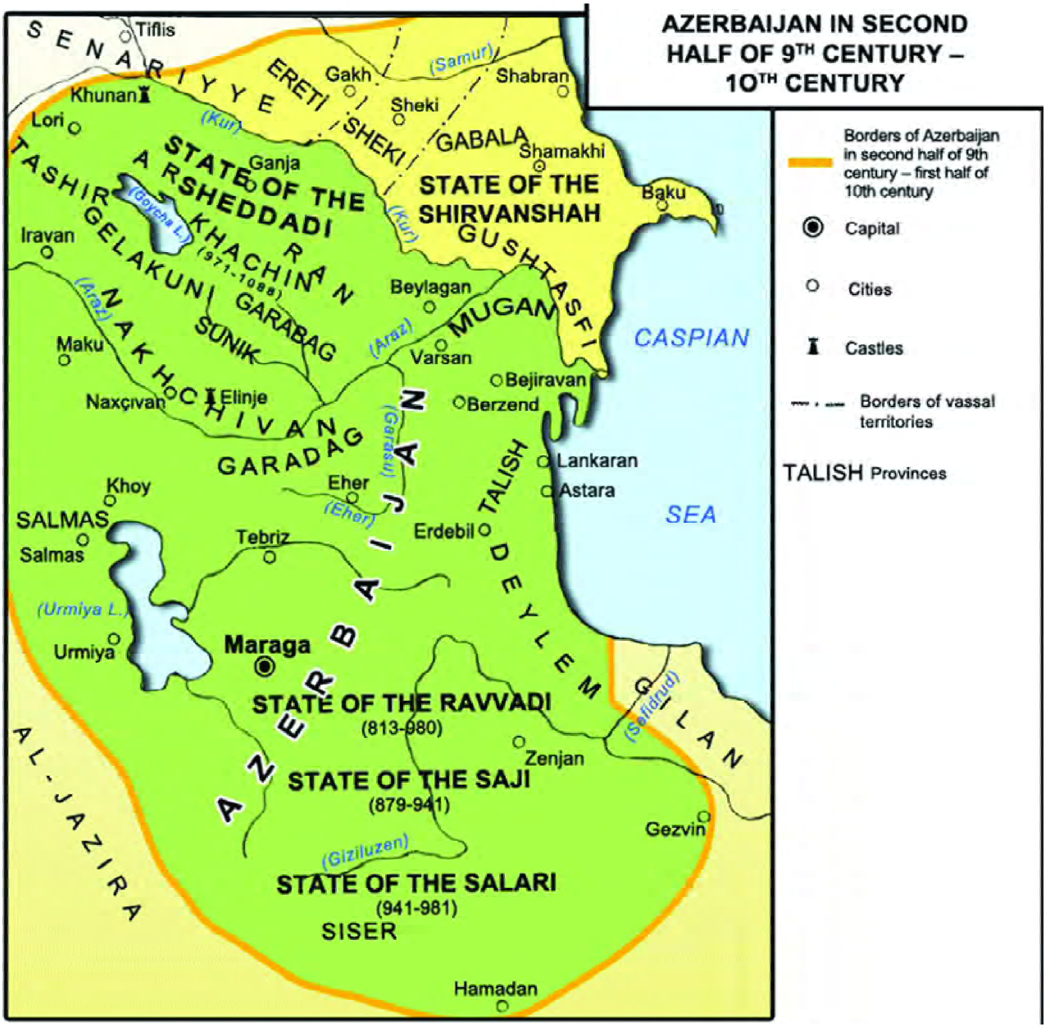


Fig. 01: Azerbaijan during the ninth and tenth centuries, published in *Historical Maps of Azerbaijan* in Baku, 1994. Here Azerbaijan extends from Derbend in the Caucasus to the Iranian city of Hamadan (Ecbatana, capital of Media). On the map there is no mention of Armenia.

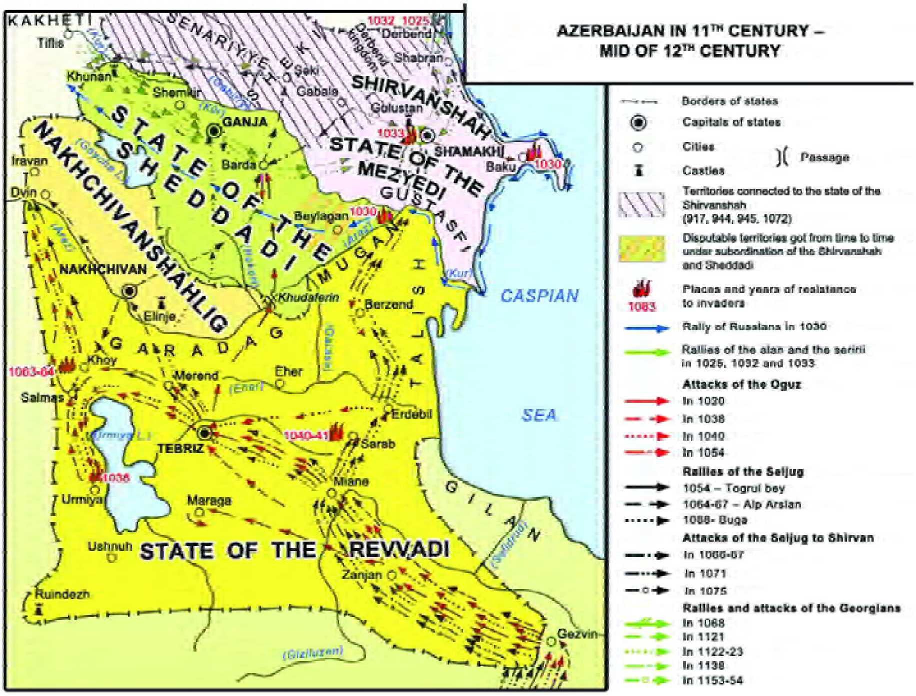
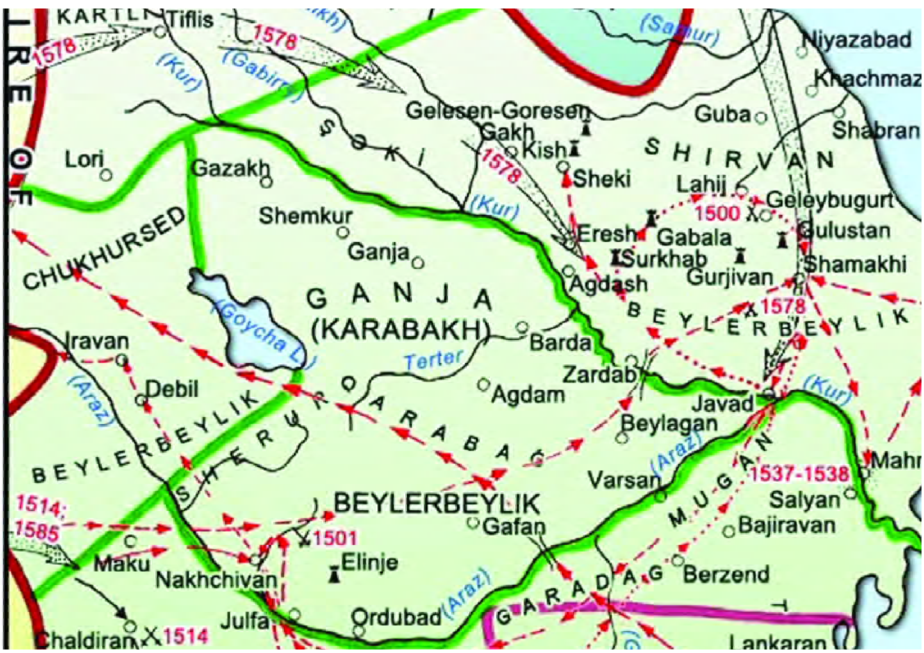


Fig. 02: The areas shown on the map are supposed to be those of Azerbaijan in the Middle Ages.

Fig. 03: The northwestern part of Safavid Iran, which the present Azerbaijani authorities claim as being the lands of sixteenth-century Azerbaijan. (The two maps on this page are from the Historic Atlas of Azerbaijan, published in Baku.)



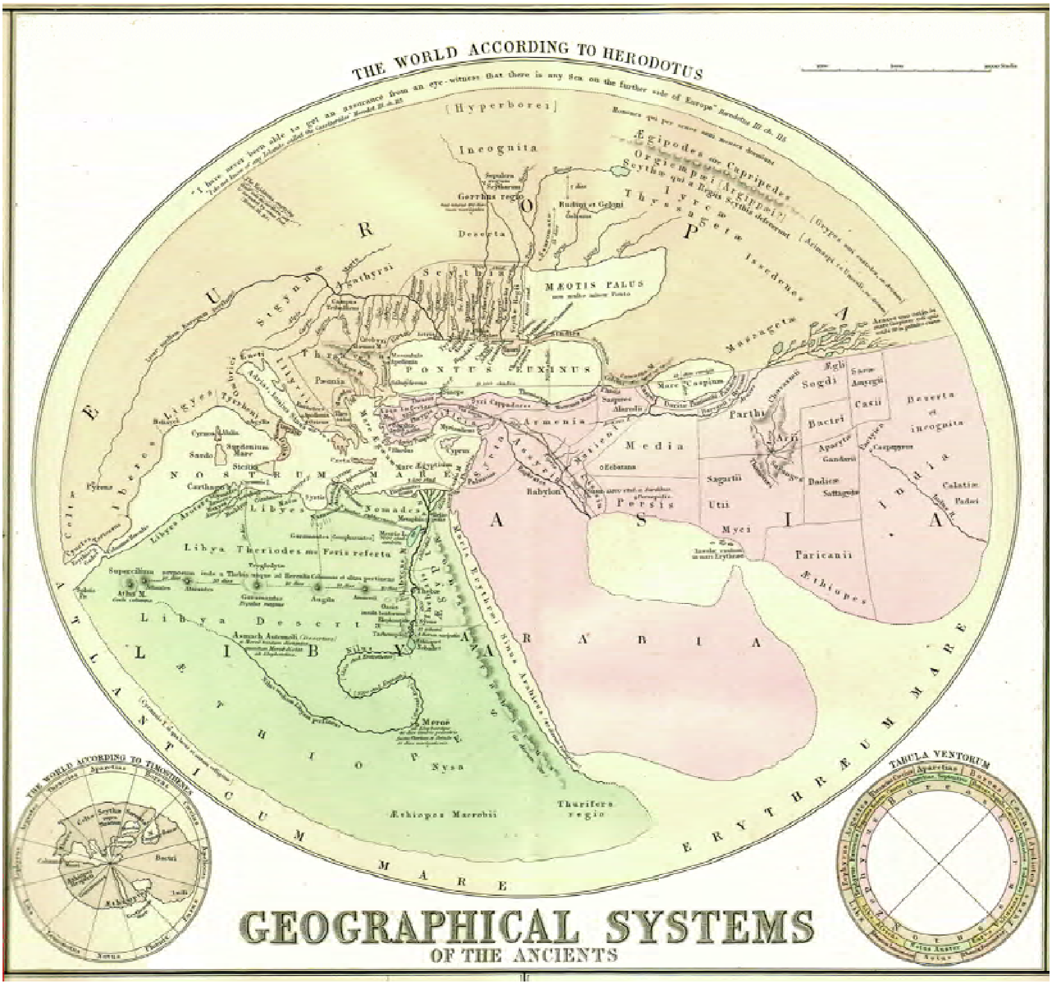


Fig. 04: The world according to Herodotus (fifth century BCE). The map is a reconstruction by the British cartographer Charles Muller in 1884, published in Smith's Atlas of the Ancient World. The bottom left diagram is the world according to Timosthenes, while the other is a wind compass. From the countries south of the Caucasus the map shows Armenia, Media, Alarodi, Mitteni, Saspires, Colchis and the Casps.

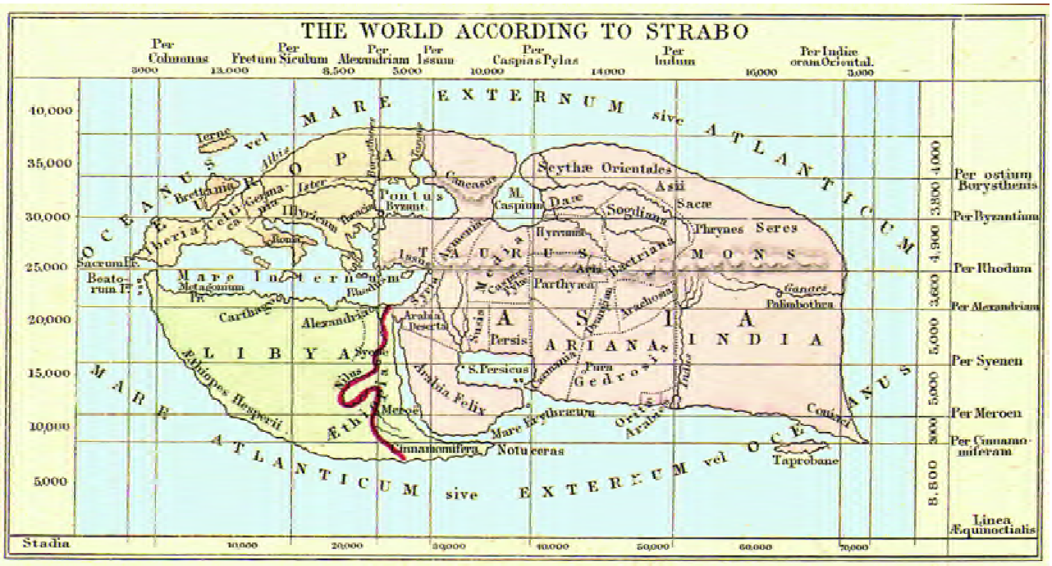


Fig. 05: The known world according to Strabo, second century BCE. The map was drawn by Konrad Miller utilizing details given in Strabo's *Geography*. South of the Caucasus we note Armenia and Media only.

Fig. 06: The world according to Periegetes, prepared by Charles Muller as per his descriptions. South of the Caucasus only Armenia and Alans are mentioned.

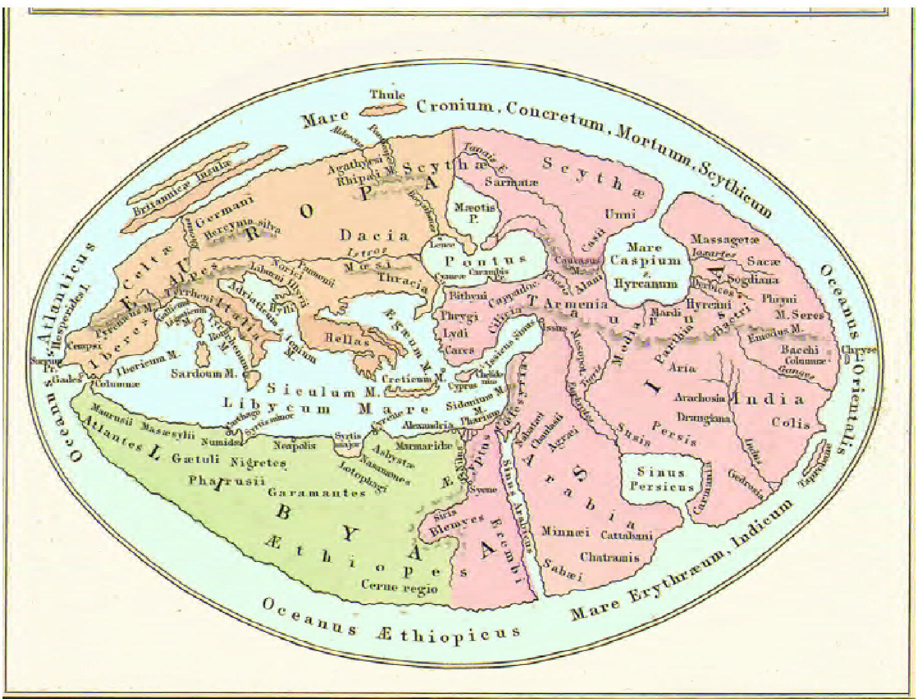




Fig. 07: The world as per Pomponius Mela, reconstructed by Konrad Miller. The map is oriented with east at the top. In the north, left, is the Black Sea (Pontvs Evxinvs) and the Azov Sea shown connected to the Aegean Sea extending to the centre of the map. Above the Black Sea is the Caspian Sea (Caspivm Mare), shown as a gulf connected to the Northern Ocean on the left.

Fig. 07a : In the detail below, the region of the Caucasus and Middle East may be seen. The countries of Armenia, Colchis, Adiabene, Media, Mesopotamia and Cappadocia are placed south of the Caucasus.



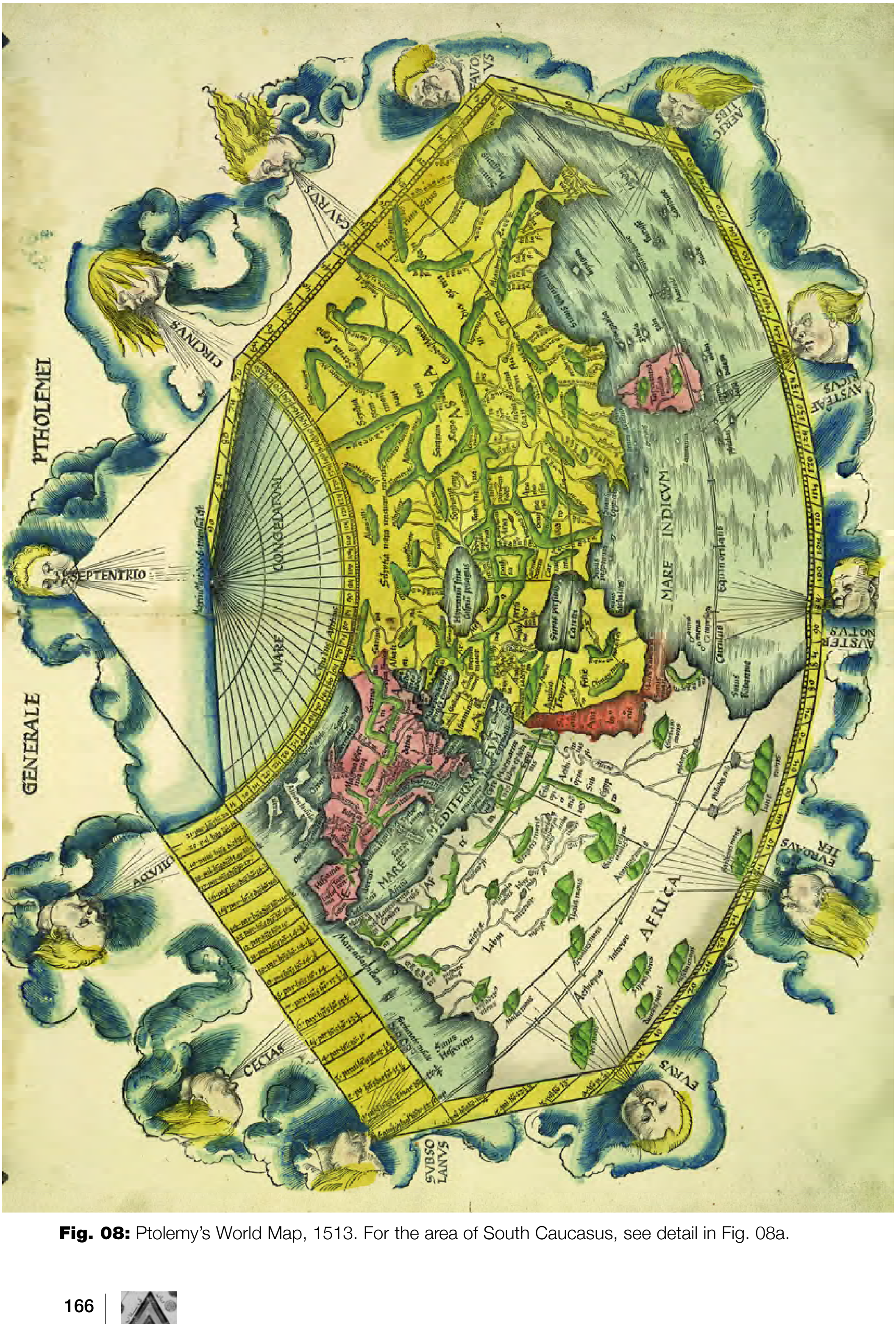


Fig. 08: Ptolemy's World Map, 1513. For the area of South Caucasus, see detail in Fig. 08a.



Fig. 08a: The region of Armenia and South Caucasus from Ptolemy's map of 1513. Here we note the countries of Armenia Maior and Armenia Minor, as well as Albania, Media and Colchis. The detail is from the map in the British Library.

Fig. 09: Ptolemy's Map of Armenia, Albania, Iberia and Colchis from a 1482 edition of the *Geographia*. Armenia is the white area, to the north of which are Albania, Colchis and Iberia. To the south-east is Media, which later was named Atropatene. To Armenia Maior's west is Armenia Minor.



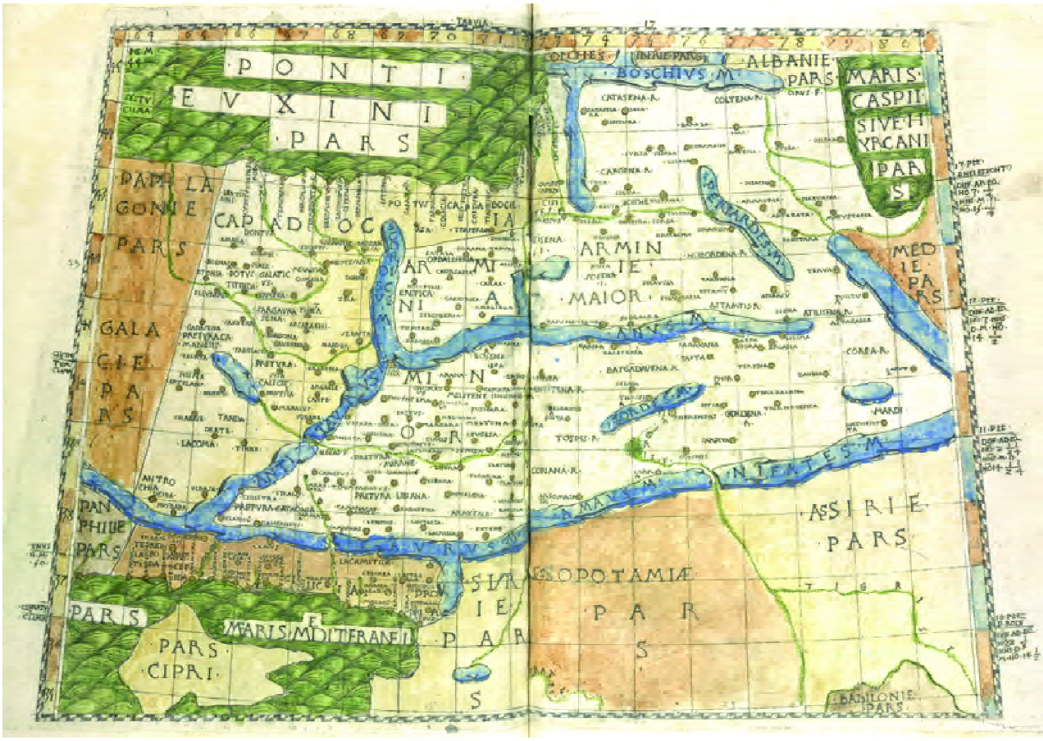


Fig. 10: Ptolemy's map of Armenia Minor and Maior, from the British Library. For details see page 136.

Fig. 11: St Jerome's Map of the World, fifth-century Britain, from the British Library. On the facing page is a detail of the South Caucasus from this map.





Fig. 11a: Topnoyms on St Jerome's Map of the World (detail):

1. Caspian Sea
2. Black Sea
3. Mediterranean Sea
4. Persian Gulf
5. River Arax
6. River Euphrates
7. River Tigris
8. River Don
9. Greater Armenia
10. Lesser Armenia
11. Gates of Armenia
12. Noah's Ark and Armenia
13. Cappadocia
14. Chaldea
15. Parthia
16. Adiabene
17. Hyrcania, by the Caspian
18. Albania, west of the Caspian
19. Colchis
20. Cilicia
21. Babylon
22. Armenian Mountains
23. Caucasian Range
24. Taurus range
25. Possibly the Persian Alborz Range, South of the Caspian
26. Possibly the Eastern Caucasus with the Daryal Pass here named Caspian Gates.
27. Mount Ararat
28. The Iron Gates, a pass near the Caspian Sea at the eastern end of the Caucasus Range.

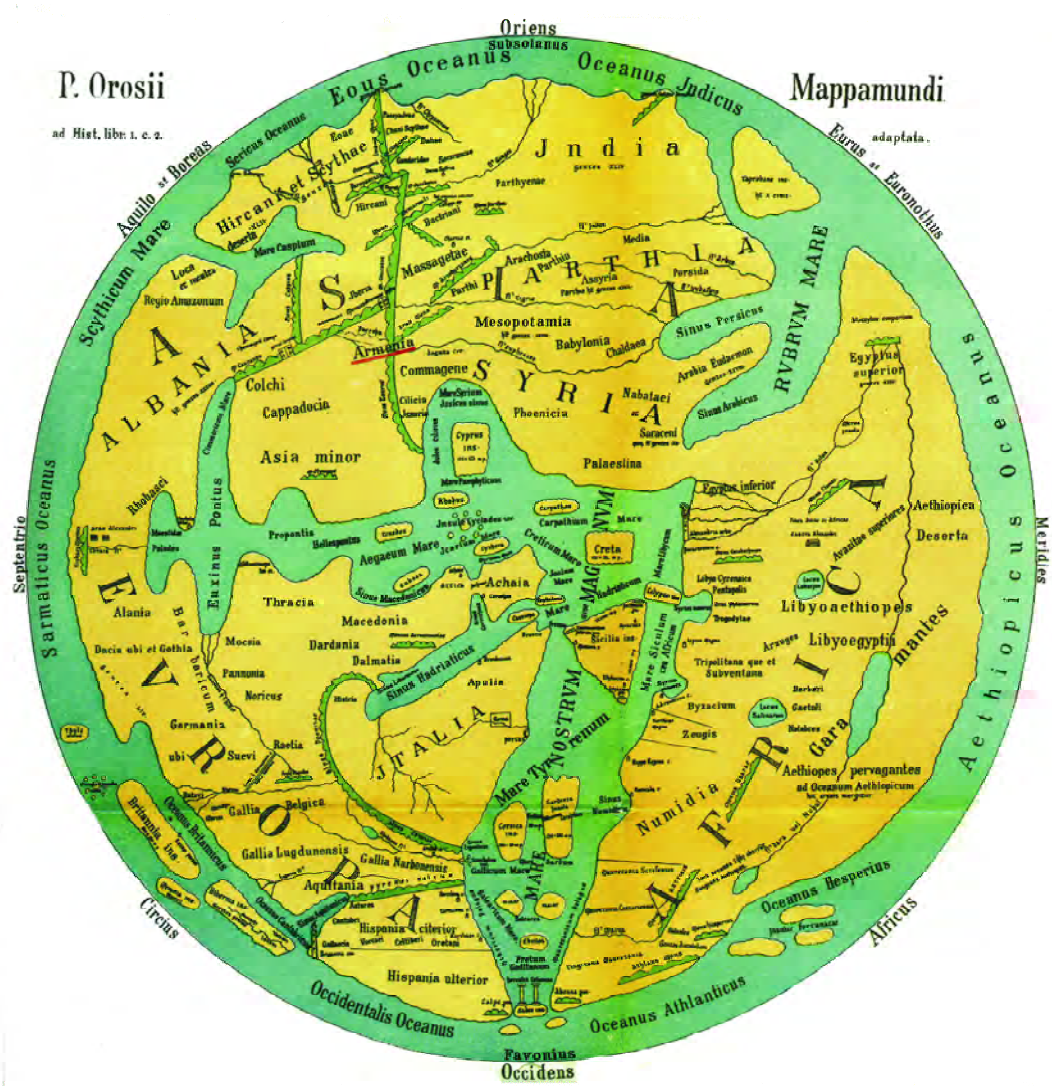


Fig. 12: The World Map of fifth century historian Paulus Orosius, drawn by Konrad Miller based on Orosius's works. North is on the left of the map, the extended sea in the middle represents the Mediterranean, extending from the Atlantic (bottom) to Palestine in the centre. From the centre towards the left is the Aegean Sea, leading through the Propontis to the Black Sea. Above the Black Sea is the Caspian Sea shown as a gulf connected to the ocean on the left. The upper half of the map is occupied by Asia, lower left is Europe and lower right is Africa. Colchis and Cappadocia are placed in the region of the South Caucasus between the Black and Caspian Seas, above which is Albania. Armenia is placed south (right) of these countries, straddling the Taurus range of Mountains. South of Armenia lie Parthia and Media.

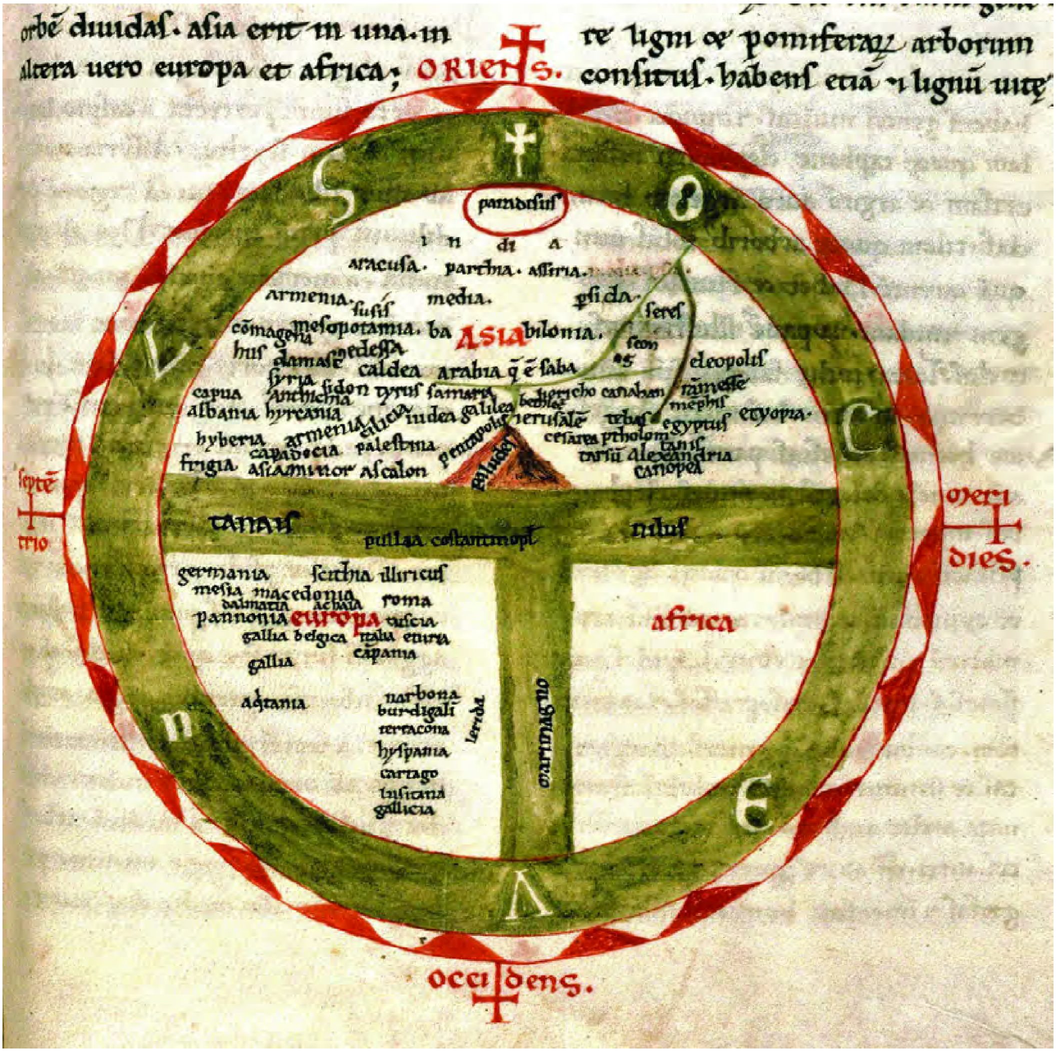


Fig. 13: This is a twelfth century Isidorean World Map held in the Aix-en-Provence municipal library of Mejanes. The map contains names of the countries of two of the three continents shown. As in all T-O maps, north is at the left. In Asia the list includes Armenia, Cilician Armenia, Albania and Media.

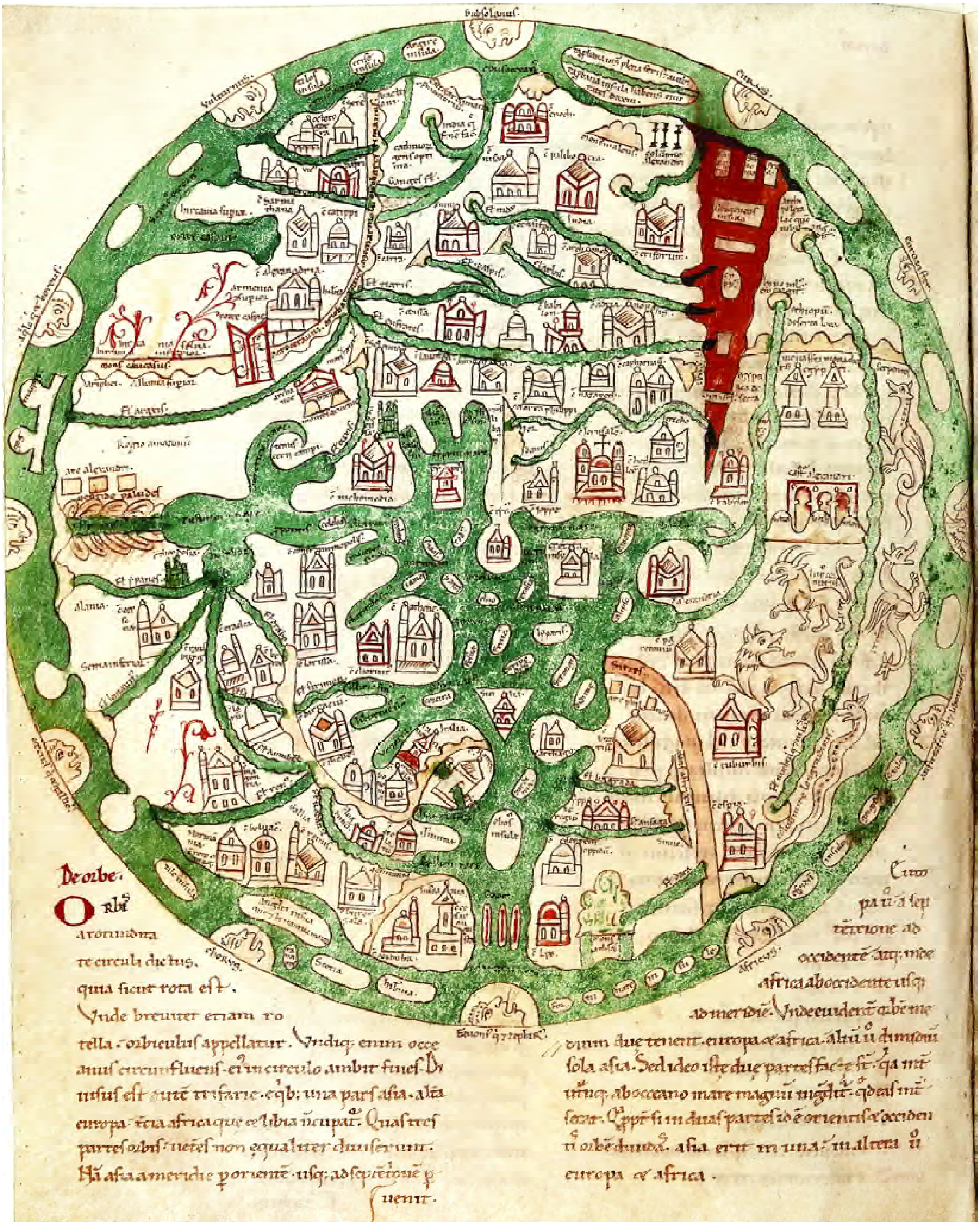


Fig. 14: Here is another T-O type World Map, according to Isidore, where many details and miniature drawings are added. East is at the top of the map and the Red Sea is painted red with its parting depicted according to the Biblical account, in order to allow the escape of the Jews from Egypt. (For further details of the map, see Rouben Galichian, Countries South of the Caucasus, 2007.) The map is from a manuscript dated 1050, kept in the municipal library of Munich. On the facing page the area of Caucasus and the Middle East is shown with added numbering for the legends.

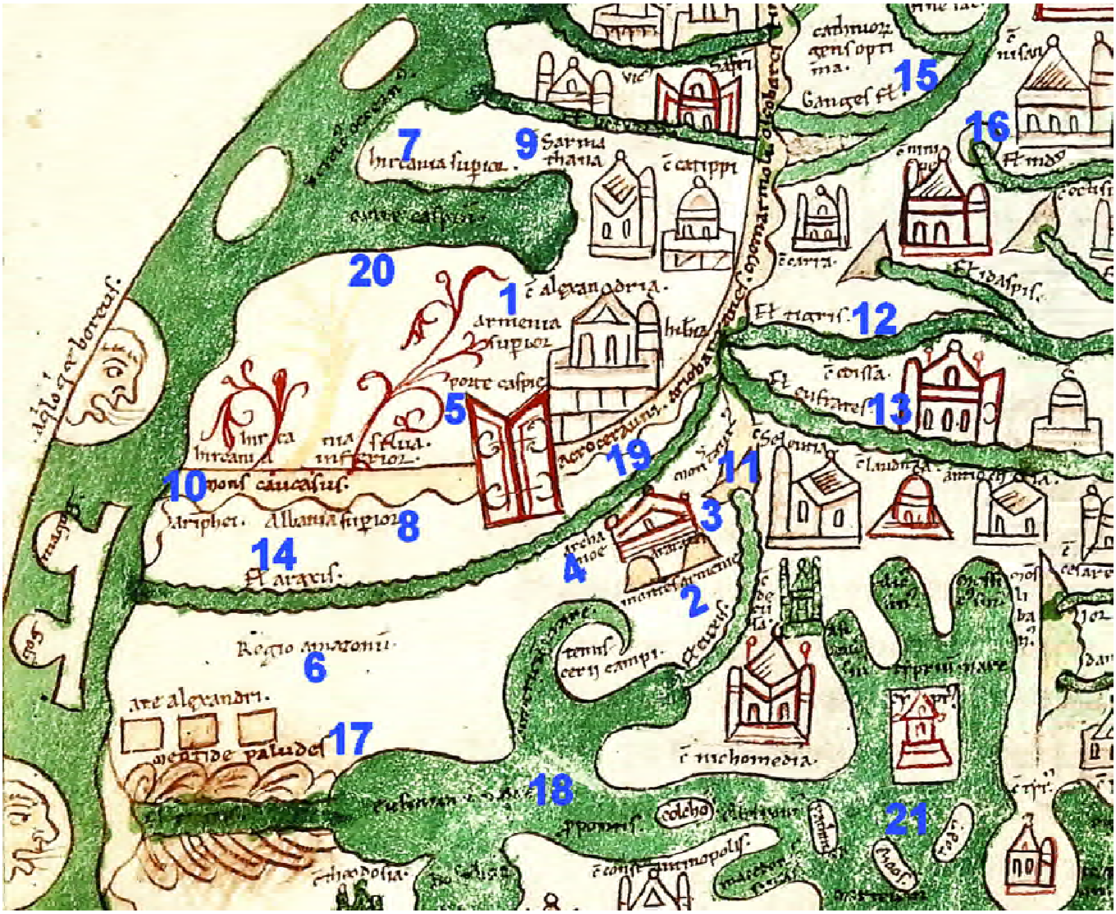


Fig. 14a: Detail of Isidore's map (Fig. 14), with numbers added to place names:

1. Armenia superior
2. Montes Armenie
3. Ararat
4. Archa Noe – Noah's Ark
5. Porte Caspie – Caspian Gates or Pass
6. Regio amazonii – [Land of the Amazon women]
7. Hircania Superior
8. Albania Superior
9. Sarmatharia – Russia
10. Mons Caucasus – Caucasus Range
11. Mons Taurus – Taurus Range
12. River Tigris
13. River Euphrates
14. River Araxis
15. River Ganges
16. River Indus
17. Meotide paludes – Azov Marshes
18. Black Sea
19. Mons Acroceraunis
20. Mare Caspiu – Caspian Sea
21. Mediterranean Sea.



Fig. 15: The seventh-century World Map by Beatus of Liebana, from a copy of a manuscript dated 1050, kept in the National Library of France.

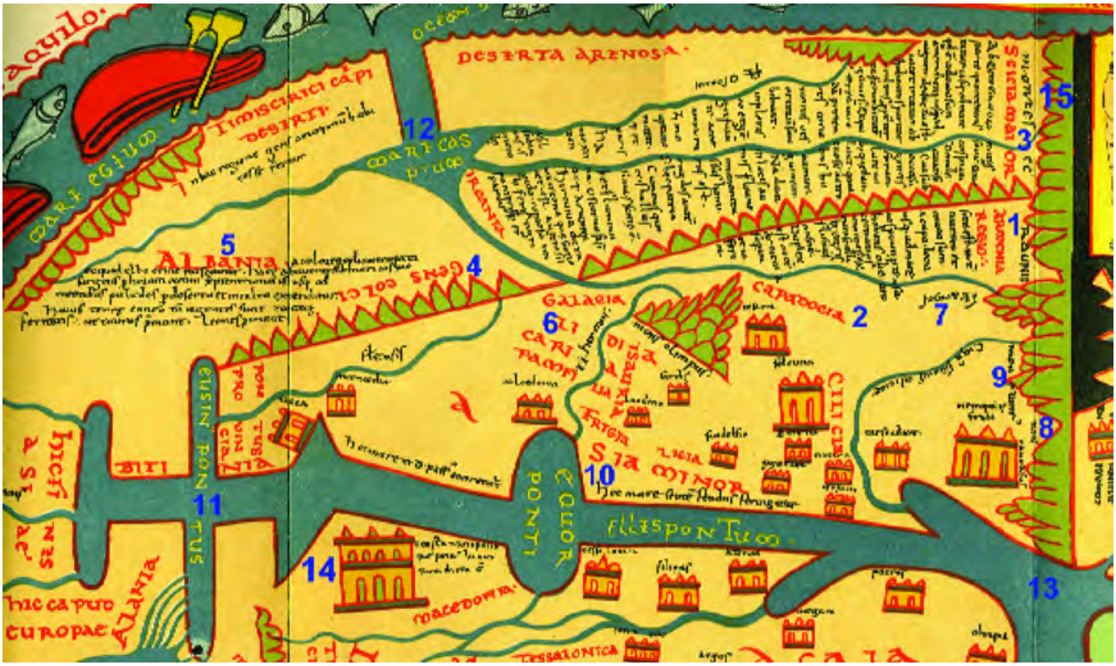


Fig. 16: This is part of the redrawing of the map in Fig. 15 by Konrad Miller, where the legends are clearer. North is left of the map. The green mountains at the right of this detail are the Caucasus Range. Below are translations of some of the legends:

1. Armenia Regio. Region of Armenia. This is between the Taurus and Caucasus Ranges of Mountains, extending to the Caspian Sea, where the source of Tigris is located. Armenia is in two parts Upper and Lower.
2. Capadocia
3. Scicia Maior [southern part of Russia]
4. Peoples of Colchis
5. Albania. Here people are born with white hair. To its east is the Caspian Sea, which extends and joins the Surrounding Ocean, to its west are the Meotidian Marshes. Here the dogs are so fierce that kill the bulls and lions.
6. Lidia
7. Flux Araxis [Arax River]
8. Mons Caucasus [Caucasian Mountains]
9. Mons Taurus
10. Asia Minor
11. Eusin Pontus [Black Sea]
12. Mari caspium [Caspian Sea]
13. Mediterranean Sea
14. Constantinopolis
15. Montes Ceraunii [Ceraunian Mountains].

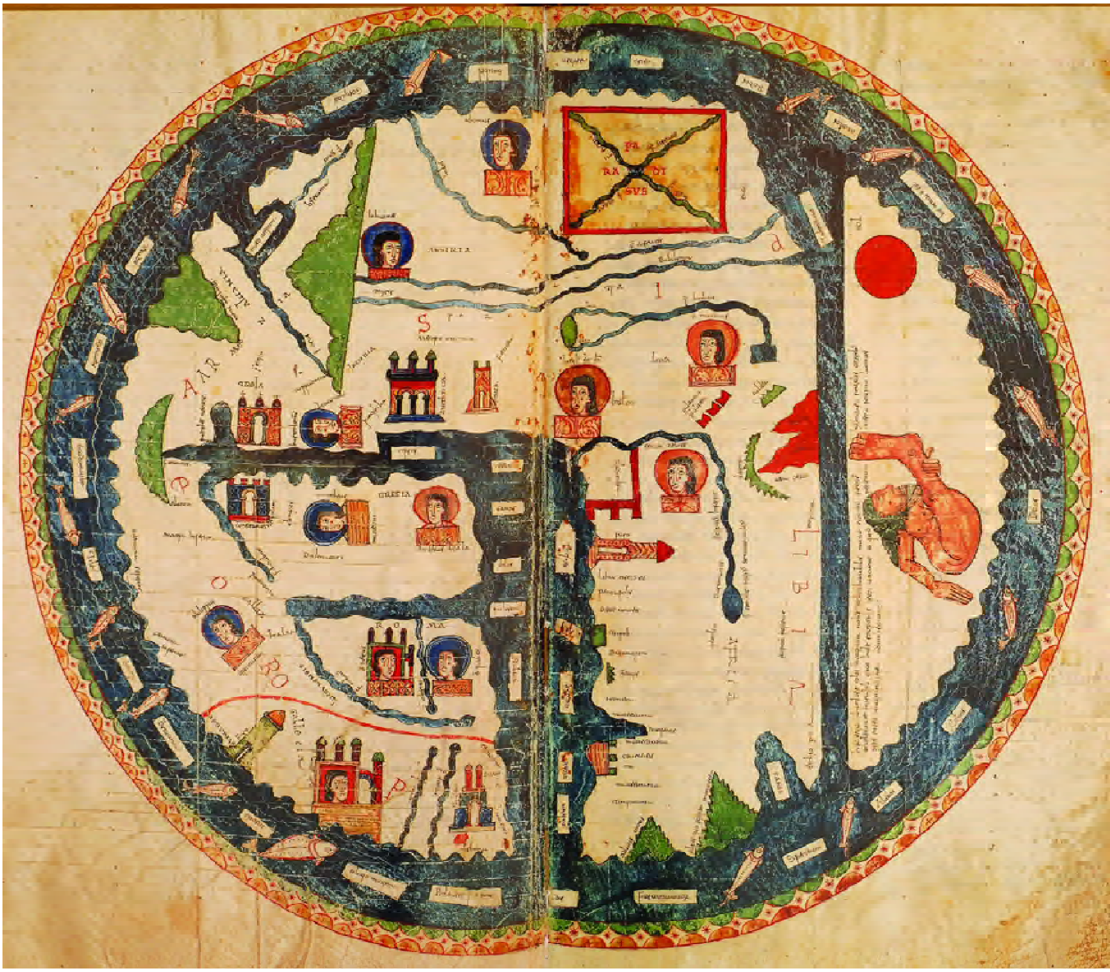


Fig. 17: Another example of Beatus's eighth-century World Map, from the manuscript kept in El Burgo de Osma, Spain, copy dated 1203. As in all T-O maps the map is oriented with east at the top, where the Terrestrial Paradise and its four rivers are shown. The portraits on the map are those of the twelve Apostles. Here Armenia can be found west of the Caspian straddling the River Kura. Albania (here Aluania) is placed north of the Kura. Parthia and Assiria are located south of the mountains. Here Albania is placed east of Armenia and the name of Azerbaijan is absent from the map. The two samples of Beatus's World Maps shown in Fig. 15 and Fig. 17, although being placed in the copies of the same manuscript, have quite a different style, presentation and content.



Fig. 18: An eleventh-century World Map from a manuscript by Bede, where the names of the countries appear in the relevant continents with no due attention or consideration given to their relative locations and borders. Being a T-O map, east is located at the top, where Paradise lies. Below the legend ‘Asia. Paradise’, the countries of the continent are listed. In the second line we see ‘Parthia and Media’, in the eighth line down it reads ‘Hircania, Albania, Armenia, Hiberia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor’. The map is from a manuscript copy of *De Temporum Rationem*, kept at the Bodelain Library, Oxford.



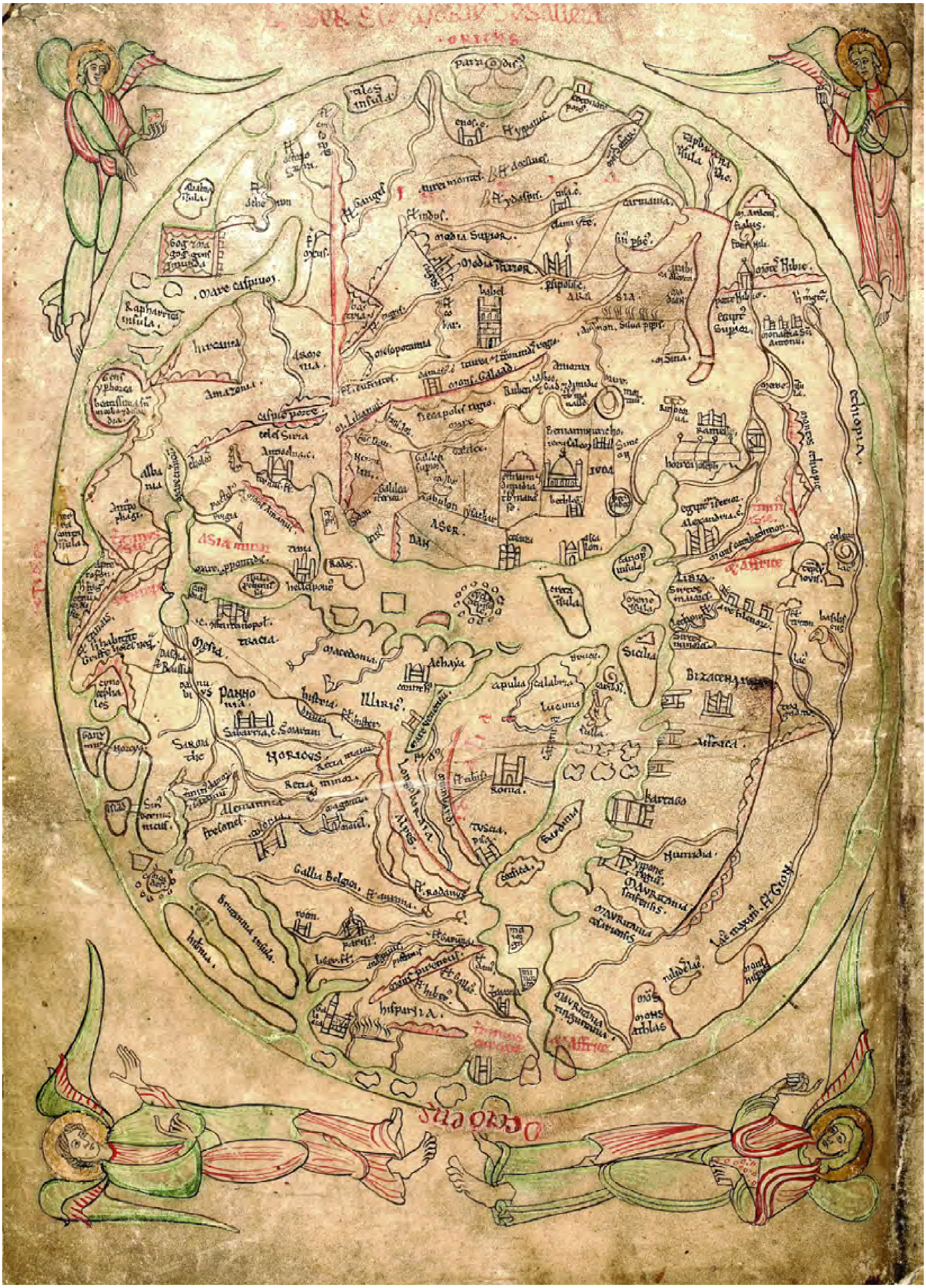
Fig. 19: This is the World Map known as the Cottonian, kept in the British Library and dating from 1050. As in all T-O maps east is at the top, with the Mediterranean as the main feature of the map. On the facing page, the detail shows the South Caucasus with additional numbering for toponyms.



Fig. 19a: Detail from the Cottonian World Map (Fig. 19) where the toponyms shown by the added numbers are explained in the table below:

1. Montes Armenie
2. Arca Noe [Noah's Ark]
3. Armenie [not clear due to print-through]
4. River Euphrates
5. River Tigris
6. Mesopotamia
7. Hiberia [Iberia]
8. Mons Albaniorum [Albanian-Caucasian Range]
9. Mare Caspium [Caspian Sea]
10. Gog et Magog
11. Colchorum
12. Antiochia
13. Taursiu montes [Taurus Mountains]
14. Persida [Persia]
15. Media.

Note: Atropatene-Azerbaijan is the Iranian Province named with its old name Media.


Babel
Macedonia
Achaia
Sicilia
Roma
Kartago
Numidia
Gallia Belgica
hispania

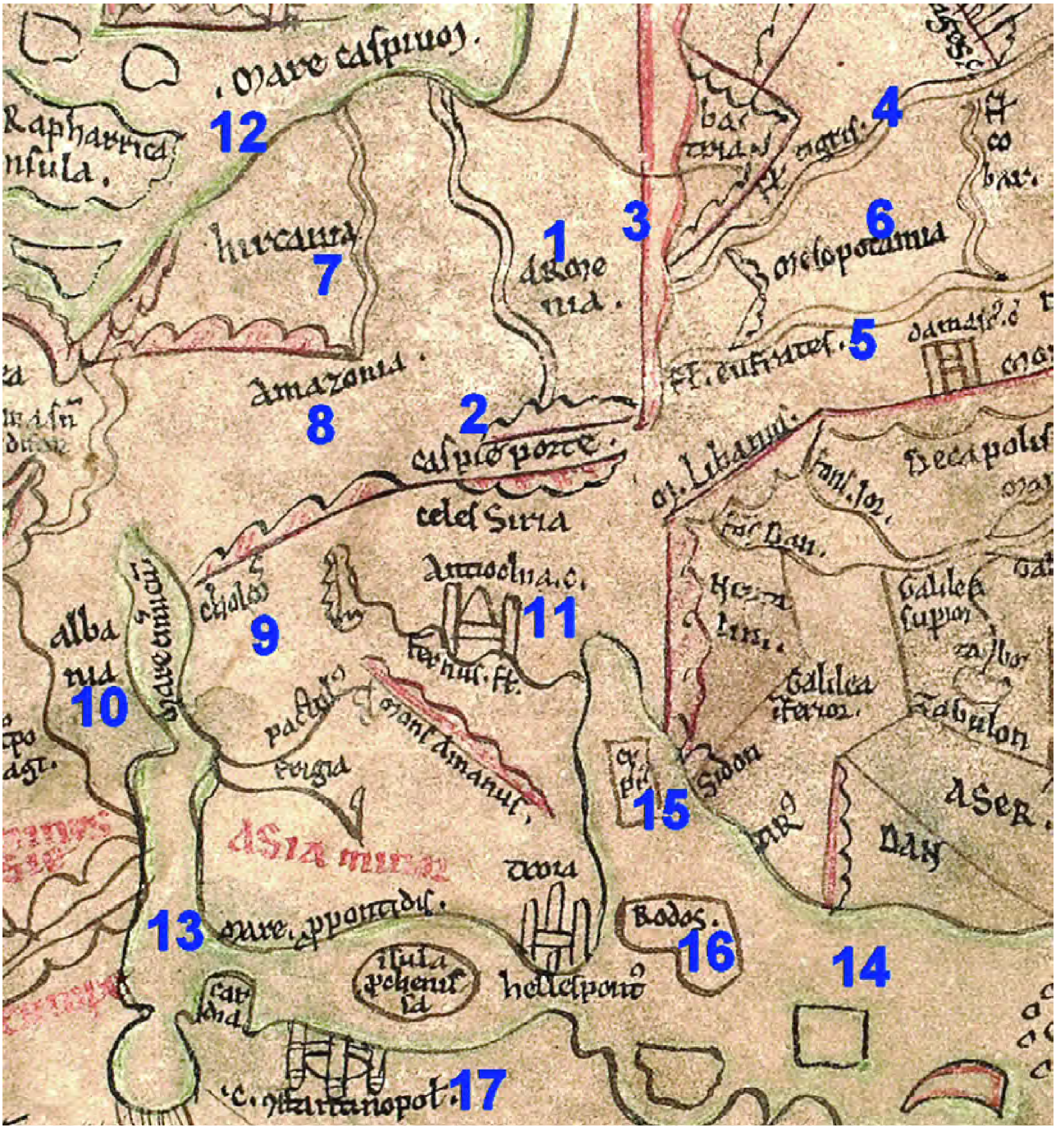


Fig. 20a (above): Detail of the Sawley World Map (Fig. 20) with added numerals as follows:

1. Armenia
2. Caspiu Porte [possibly the Daryal Pass]
3. Taurus Range
4. River Tigris
5. Fluvius Eufrates [River Euphrates]
6. Mesopotamia
7. Hircania
8. Amazoni [Land of the Amazons]
9. Chaldia
10. Albania
11. Antiochia civitates [Antioch]
12. Mare Caspious [Caspian Sea]
13. Mare Euxinu [Black Sea]
14. Mediterranean Sea
15. Island of Cyprus
16. Island of Rhodes
17. Constantinople

Fig. 20 (facing page): Imago Mundi (World Map) of 1180 from the Monastery of Sawley. On the facing page the detail of the area of Caucasus can be seen. The map is from Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge.

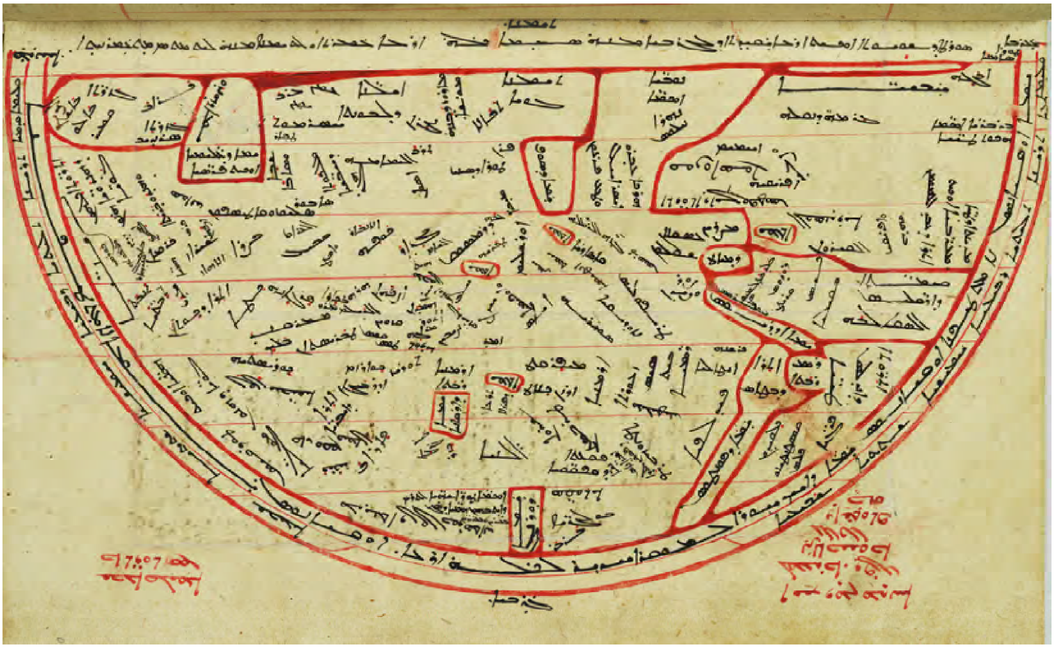


Fig. 21 (above): The World Map of Bar Hebraeus showing the northern half of the eastern hemisphere, known as the habitable world, divided into seven climatic zones. Following the tradition of Islamic cartography, south is at the top. The map is from a manuscript kept in Cambridge.

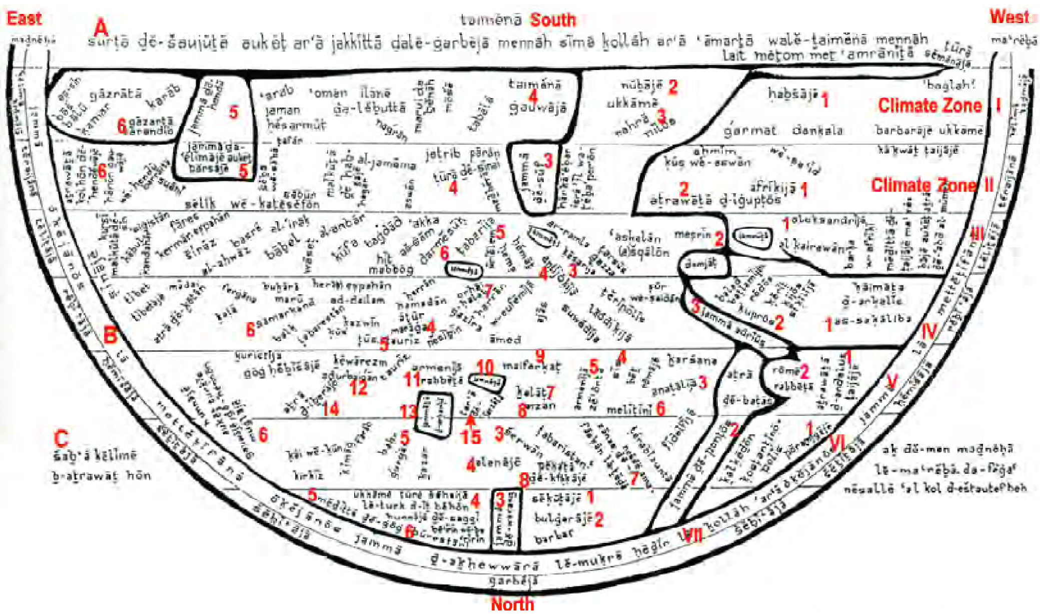


Fig. 21a (facing page below): The World Map of Bar Hebraeus with some of the toponyms as translated and re-drawn by Konrad Miller (see page 142):

Zone I
1. Ethiopia
2. Nubia
3. River Nile
4. Sudan
5. Indian Sea
6. Island of Ceylon

Zone II
1. Africa
2. Land of Egypt
3. Red Sea
4. Mount Sinai
5. Persian Gulf
6. Land of the Indians

Zone III
1. Alexandria
2. Egypt
3. Caesaria
4. Anthiochia
5. Jerusalem
6. Damascus

Zone IV
1. Slavs
2. Cyprus
3. Adriatic Sea
4. Maragha [where the writer died]
5. Tabriz
6. Samarkand
7. Halab [Aleppo]

Zone V
1. Spain
2. Rome
3. Anatolia
4. Sis [capital of Lesser Armenia, now called Kozan]
5. Lesser Armenia
6. Melitini [Malatya]
7. Khlat [Capital of Greater Armenia]
8. Arzan
9. Maiferkat [Tigranakert]
10. Lake Van
11. Greater Armenia
12. Azerbaijan
13. Caspian Sea
14. Iberia
15. Gates of Iron

Zone VI
1. France
2. Black Sea
3. Shirvan
4. Land of the Alans
5. Gorgan [Caspian] Sea
6. Land of the Huns and Turks who are Mongols
7. Amazones, who cut off their breasts
8. Caucasus Mountains

Zone VII
1. Scythians
2. Bulgarians
3. Baltic/Northern Sea
4. Turkish mountains, where live the Huns, who are barbarians.
5. Land of Gog and Magog
6. Boristhenes [River Dnepr]

A. Equator, which is the warm land, to the north of it lie the inhabitable lands and to the south there is no habitable land.
B. Impassable Ocean.
C. The seven climates (inverted).

In the above list, the texts in the brackets are added in order to clarify the content of the map, the first letter showing the zone in Latin numerals and then the number allocated to the name in the particular zone of the map. The toponyms are divided according to the seven climatic zones shown red. In the named cities, the author of the map has included those which were of importance including his lifetime. Here we note Greater Armenia (V-11) and Lesser Armenia (V-5), Armenian capital Khlat (V-7) Maiferkat or Mianfarkin-Tigranakert, the pre-Christian capital of Armenia (V-9) and Lake Van (10). Between Van, the Caucasus (VI-8) and the Alans (VI-4) and west of the Caspian Sea (V-13). The Iron Gates (V-15) probably are the Caspian Gates. The map also shows Atropatene (V-12) and Shirwan (VI-3), taking the place of Albania.



Fig. 22: The Hereford Mappa Mundi dates from 1280 England. This is a large T-O map with east at the top, and its prominent feature again is the Mediterranean Sea. Jerusalem can be seen as the circle in the centre of the map. A detail is on the facing page.



Fig. 22a: Section of the Hereford Mappa Mundi from Fig. 22, with added numbers to the map legends, which are further described below:

1. Armenia - the borders of ancient Armenia are Euphrates in the west, the Taurus Mountains in the south and Iberia in the north
2. Armenia Superior – Greater Armenia
3. Armenia Inferior – Lesser Armenia
4. Archa noe sedit in montibus armenie – Noah's Ark sitting on Armenian Mountains.
5. Thiberia – or Iberia
6. Samosata civitas – City of Arshamashat:
7. Montes Parcoatras – the Lesser Caucasus, source of the Euphrates
8. Montes Acrocerauni – Mountains of Daghestan
9. Mons Taurus
10. Mesopotamia
11. Tigris fluvius – River Tigris whose source is also the Caucasus
12. Euxinum mare – The Black Sea
13. Porte Caspiae – Caspian Gates
14. Mare Caspium – The Caspian Sea
15. Caspium civitas – City of the Casps
16. Hircania
17. Hircani hic habitant – Here live the Hircanians
18. Colcorum provicia – Province of Colchis [Abkhazia]
19. Golden Fleece – To reclaim it Jason was sent here by Priamus
20. The Albanians – They have bright yellow eyes and they see better at night.


India
Indus flumen
Babilonia
Jerusalem
Grecia
Italia
Francia
Egyptus
Sardinia
Hibernia
Insule fortunate
mons atlas

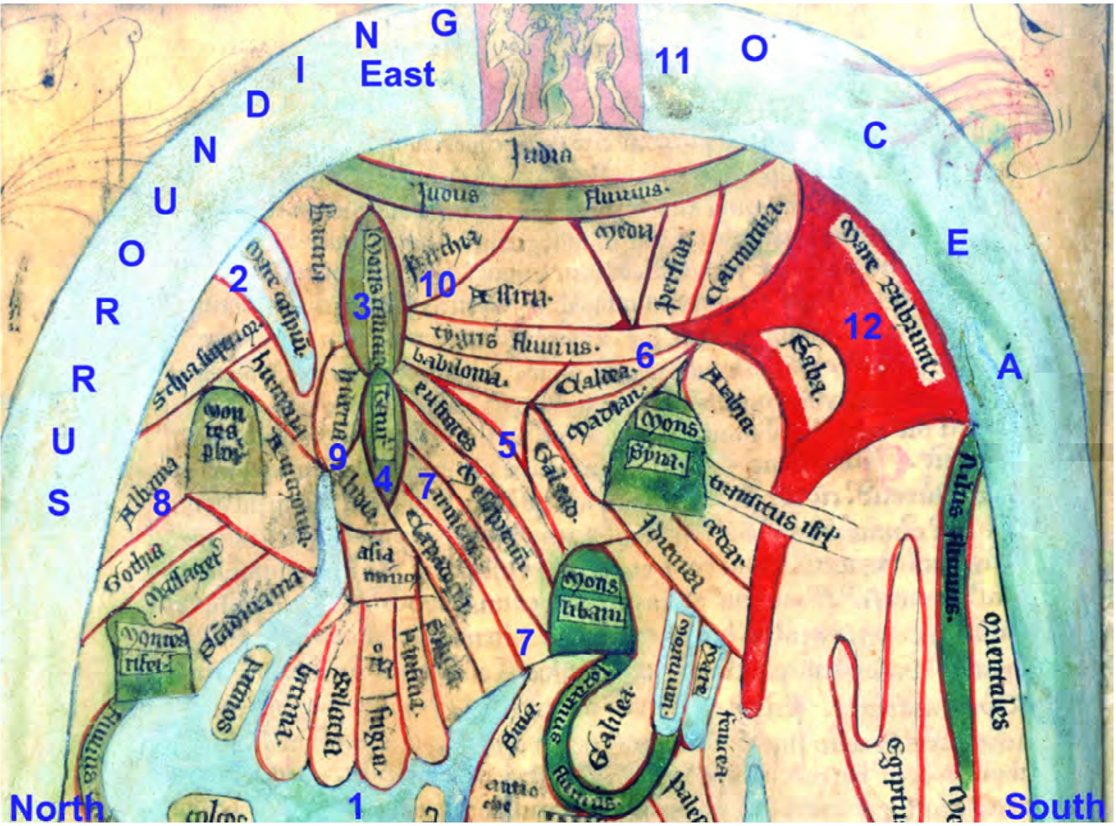


Fig. 23a (above): Detail of Higden's map showing the eastern part of the world, with added numbers for explanation of the legends:

1. Mediterranean Sea
2. Caspian Sea
3. Caucasus Mountains
4. Mountains of Pontus
5. River Euphrates
6. River Tigris
7. Armenia
8. Albania
9. Iberia
10. Parthia, [which according to the text includes Media]
11. Paradise [with Adam, Eve, the Serpent and the Apple Tree]
12. The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

As in other medieval maps, Iranian Azerbaijan is shown with its ancient name Media, and Albania is shown as a separate country in the northern part of the South Caucasus.

Fig. 23 (facing page): Ranulf Higden's World Map was drawn in 1350 and inserted in the manuscript of his *Polychronicon*. At the top of the map (east) the Terrestrial Paradise can be seen with Adam and Eve and the Serpent on the Apple Tree. Top right the red wedge is the Red Sea shown with its parting to allow the return of the Jews to Palestine. The map is in the Bodleian

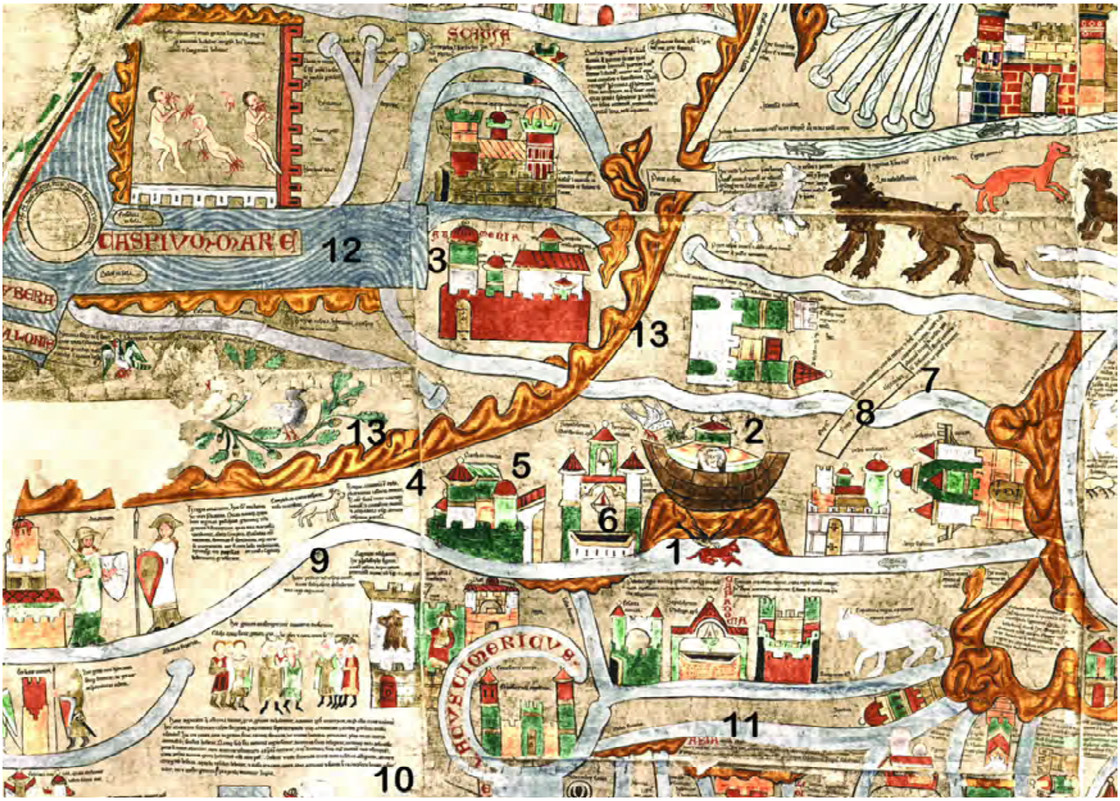


Fig. 24: Part of the reconstructed Ebstorf Mappa Mundi, where the region of Caucasus and Asia Minor are shown. The original of this priceless work, dating from around 1232, perished during an allied bombing raid on Hanover in 1943. The countries shown on this detail are Armenia, Media, Albania, Colchis amongst others. Below are the translations of relevant legends on the map. Further descriptions can be found on page 99.

1. Ararat
2. Noah's Ark
3. Armenia
4. This is the region of Armenia, named after Jason's companion Arminus. It extends from the Taurus to the Caucasus and from Cappadocia to the Caspian Sea.
5. Armenian city of Partav [Barda'a]
6. The tomb of St Bartholomew
7. Arax is a river in Armenia, rising from the same mountains as the Euphrates.
8. Alexander's bridge built over the Arax
9. The land of Colchis [Abkhazia]. The place of the Golden Fleece
10. This is the country of Albania, populated by 26 tribes who are famous for their bright white skin and are born with white hair. The country extends from the Caspian Sea and extends the length of the North Sea riches the Meotidian Marshes [Sea of Azov]
11. Asia Minor, to its east is Cappadocia and the sea surrounds it on the other three sides
12. Caspian Sea
13. Caucasian Range.



Fig. 25: Ibn Khordadbeh's map of the South Caucasus, taken from a Russian-language book published in Baku in 1986. This is the translation of the Islamic geographer Ibn Khordadbeh's work *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (Book of Road and Realms)* dating from the tenth century CE (see page 83). According to the author's descriptions, countries south of the Caucasus are:

1. Armenia, which extends from Samosata to beyond Lake Sevan, extending over the northern and southern banks of the Arax River [undelined in red on the map].
2. Azerbaijan, on the south bank of the River Arax, extending as far as the southern end of Lake Urmiyah [the Armenians call this province Atrpatakan, which is the north-western part of Iran, underlined green on the map].
3. Arran [Albania], from the north of Arax extending to the Caucasus Range, where the khanates of Moghan, Shaki, Shirvan and Tabarsaran can be found [underlined in blue].

Here is evidence from a book of Islamic cartography, produced in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, confirming that Arran and Azerbaijan are distinct and separate countries and are situated on the opposite banks of the Arax River.

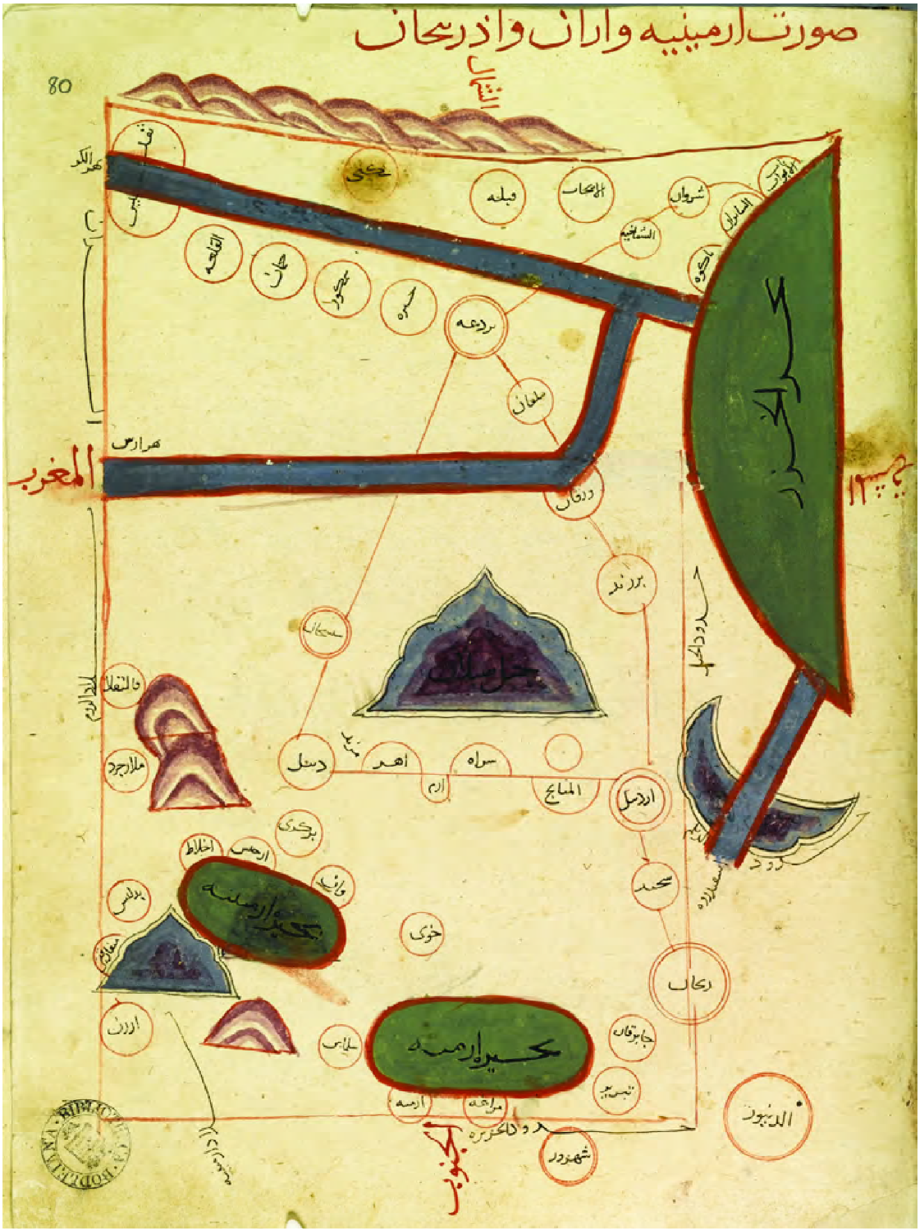


Fig. 26: The Persian geographer al-Istakhri's 'Map of Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan'. For the names of the cities and other places, refer to pages 88 and page 145. The green mass on the right is the Caspian Sea, into which the Rivers Arax and Kura flow. The region north of the Arax and on both banks of the Kura is named Arran, which includes the Armenian provinces of Siunik and Artsakh incorporated into Arran during Sassanid rule. Armenia straddles the Arax with Azerbaijan to its east and south-east. The two green ovals are Lake Van in Armenia and Lake Urmiya between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The map is from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

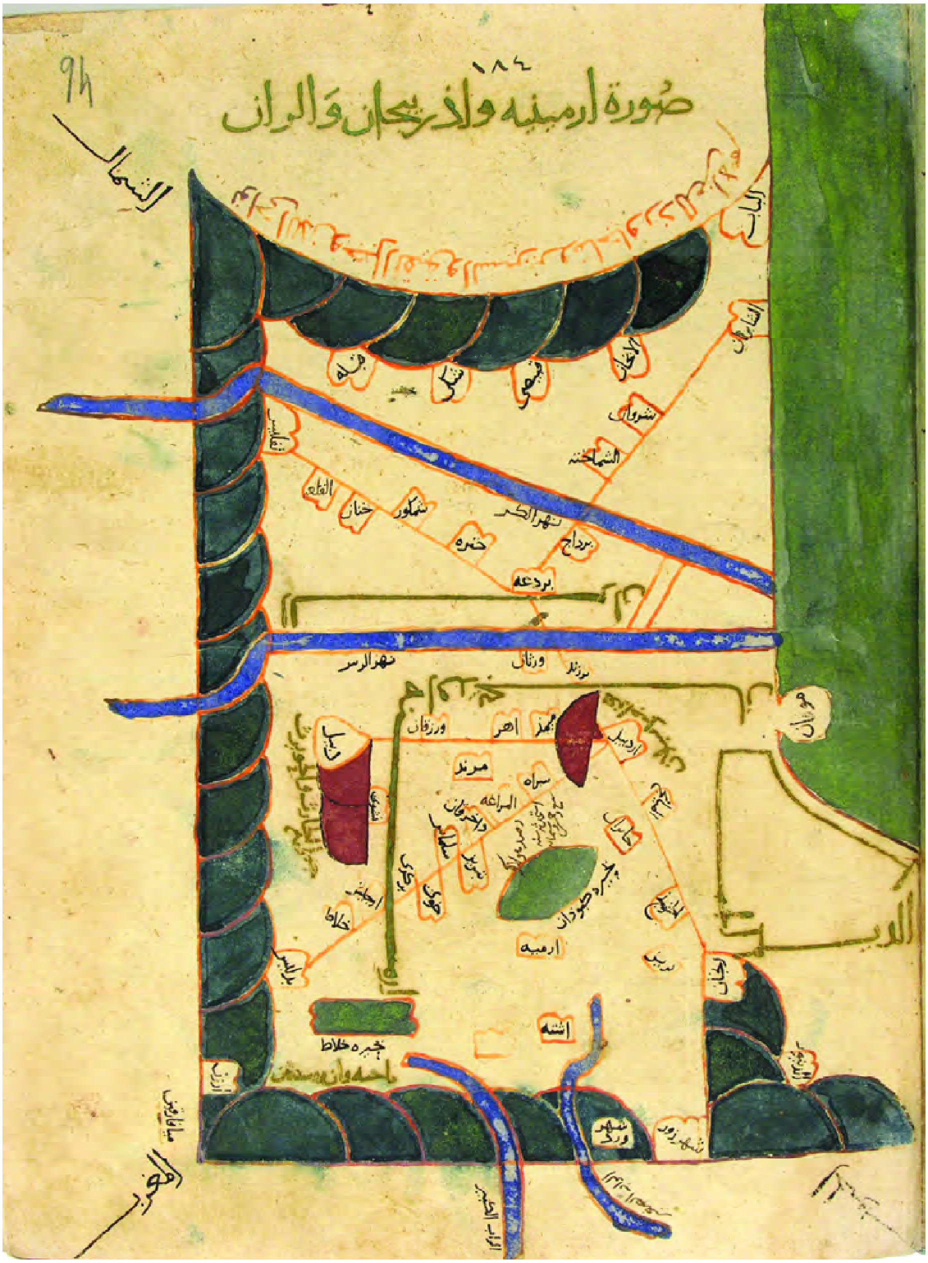


Fig. 27: 'The map of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Arran' as drawn by Arab geographer Ibn Hawqal for Surat al-Ard circa 973 CE. The Rivers Arax and Kura are shown separately flowing into the Caspian. North of the Arax and Kura is Arran, with Armenia in the south and south-west and Azerbaijan to its south. For further details see page 89. This map is from Ibn Hawqal's manuscript kept in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul.

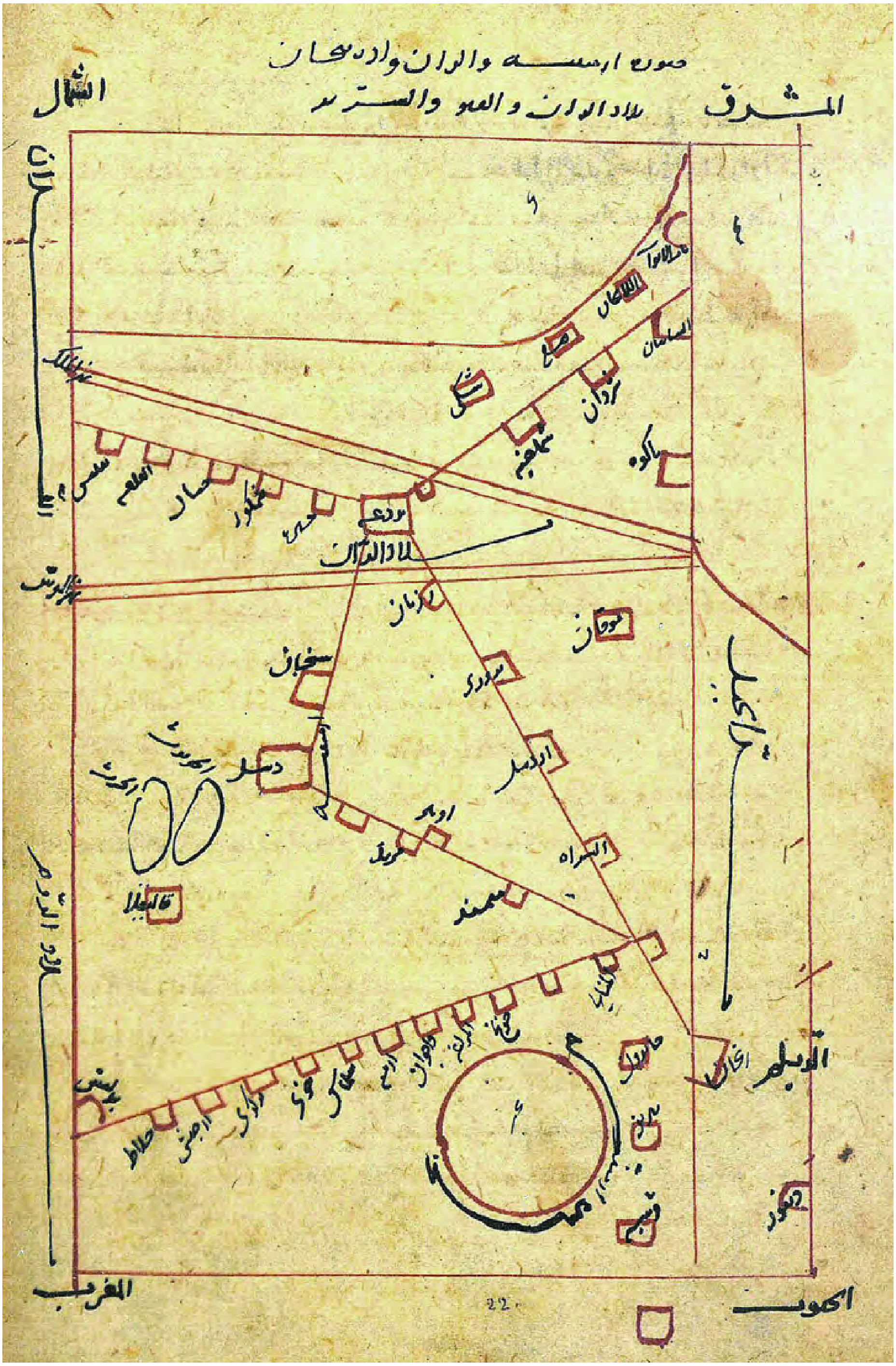


Fig. 28: Al-Muqaddasi's map 'Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan' from a 985 CE manuscript. For details see pages 90 and 145. The original map is in the Berlin municipal library.

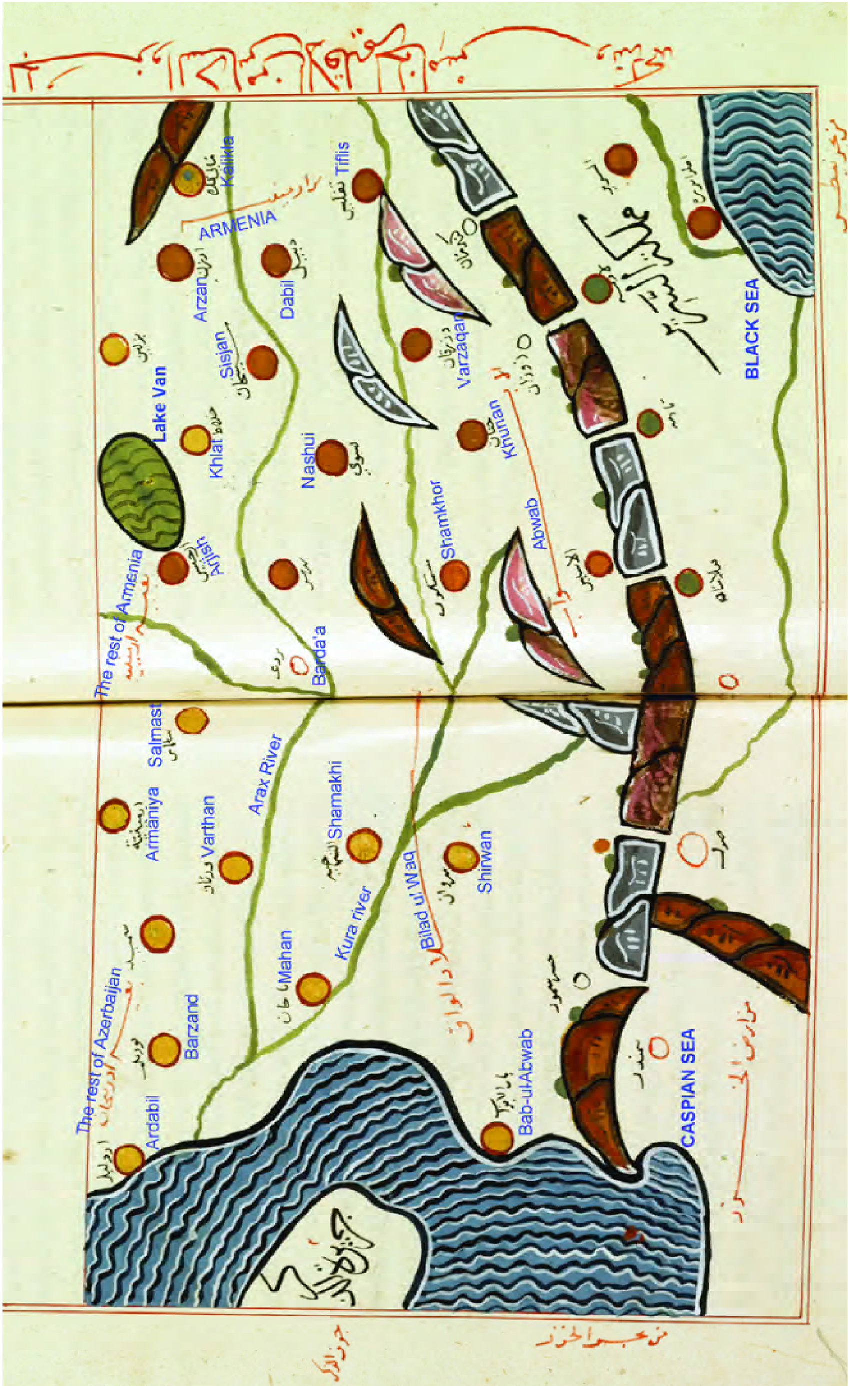


Fig. 29: One of the zonal maps of al-Idrisi's *Book of Roger*, dated 1154. This page represents the area south of the Caucasus. The legends are translated and are self-explanatory. The original is kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Fig. 30: Part of the Western Asia from Qazviini's thirteenth-century Map of the World. South is at the top and the names relating to the numerals added to the map are translated and shown below. The lower legend states: 'There is not enough sun here and due to extreme cold nothing lives here.' See page 147 for further details. The original map is in the Walters Collection.

1. Persian Gulf
2. Mediterranean Sea
3. Caspian Sea
4. Lake Aral
5. Red Sea
6. Black Sea
7. River Euphrates
8. River Tigris
9. River Arax
10. River Kura
11. River Volga or Etyl
12. Armenia
13. Barda'a
14. Baku
15. Shamakhi
16. Derbend
17. Tabriz.

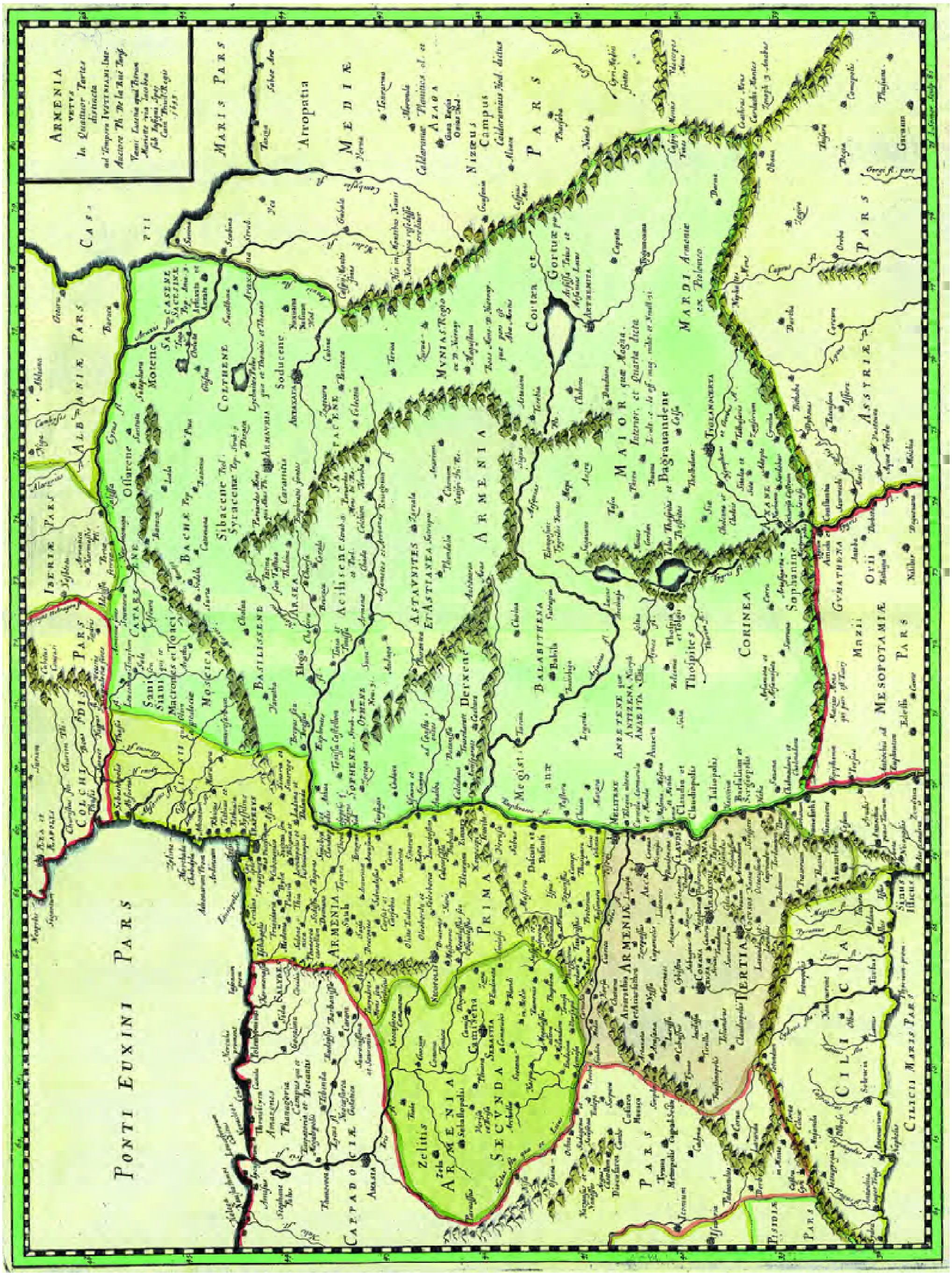


Fig. 31: This 1653 map, created by the French cartographer Philip de la Rue, is entitled 'Armenia During the Time of Emperor Justinian'. In addition to the four parts of Armenia, the map shows Armenia's neighbours, including in the north Albania and in the east Atropatia-Azerbaijan, as a constituent part of Media. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

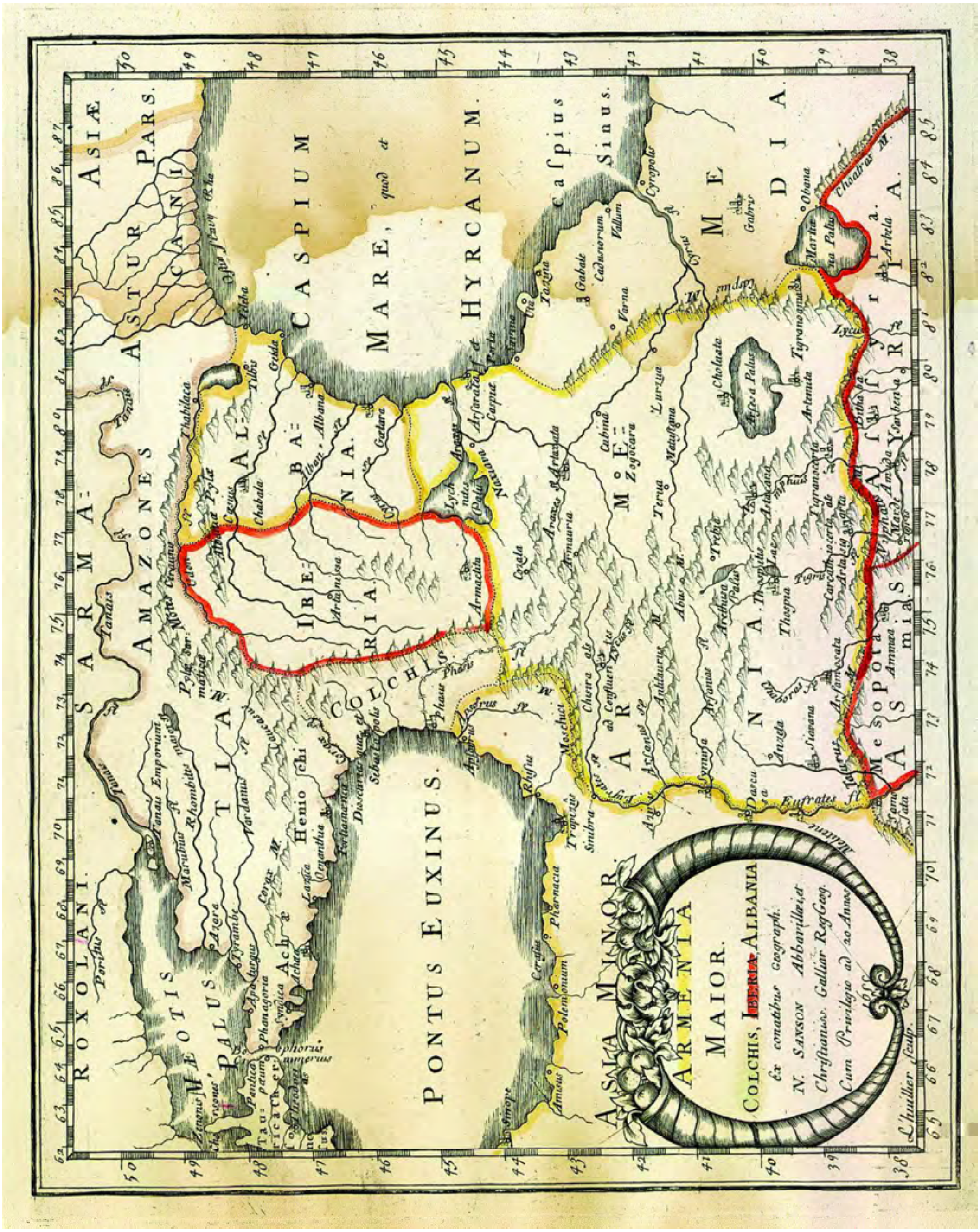


Fig. 32: This 1655 map, entitled 'The Map of Armenia Maior, Colchis, Iberia, Albania', was created by the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson. It shows the countries of this region in ancient times. Armenia's neighbours include Albania and Media, later renamed Atropatene-Azerbaijan. (Collection A. Garabedian, Lyon)

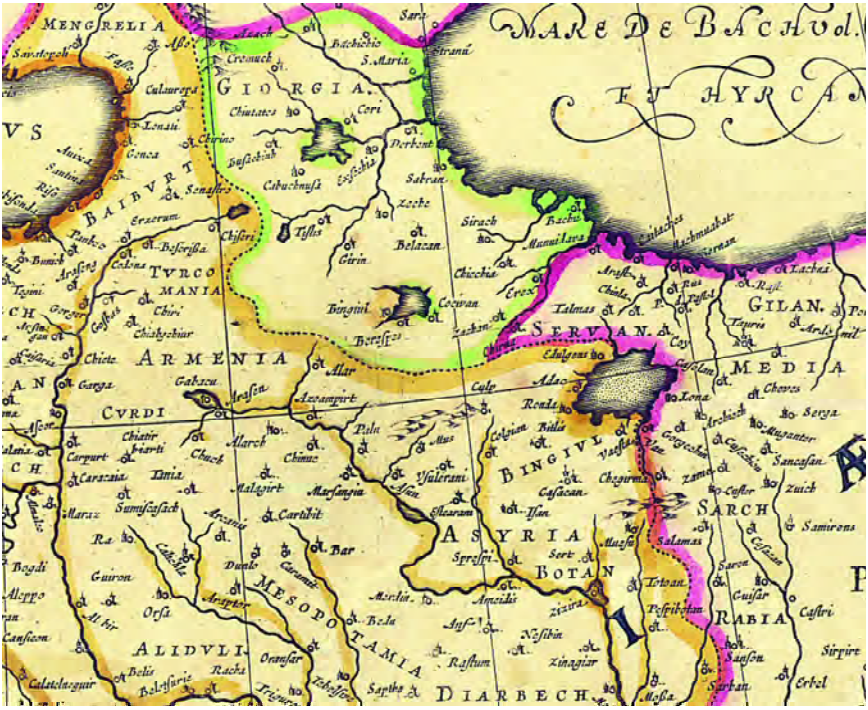
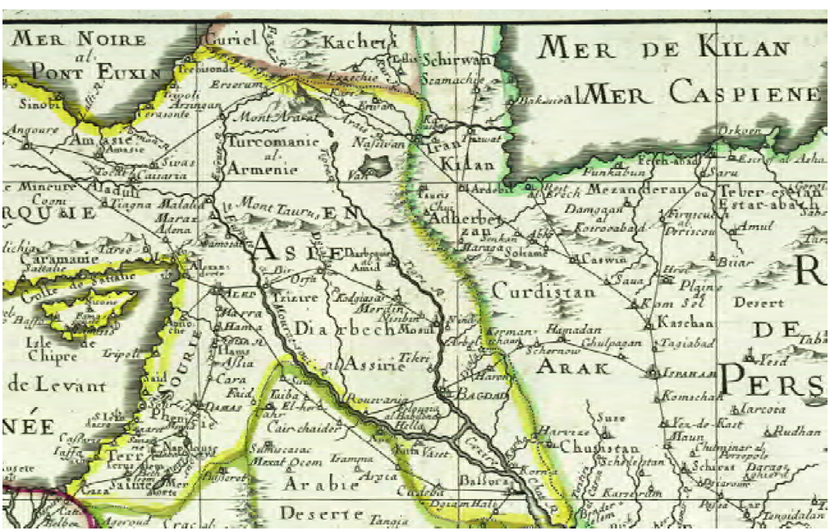


Fig. 33: This map detail is from the map of the Ottoman Empire in Blaeu's Alas Maior, published in 1664-1665. Countries neighbouring Armenia are Georgia, Shirvan (Albania) and Media. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

Fig. 34: Another detail map of the same area as in Fig. 33, taken from Pierre Duval's 1676 map of the Middle East. The maps depicts Armenia (also known as Turcomania, Turkish-Armenia), with Shirvan to its north and Adherbeizan to its east, placed inside the territory of Iran, south of the Arax River. The cities of the Iranian Azerbaijan-Adherbeizan are shown to be Ardabil, Zanjan, Sultanie and Choi (Khoy), which are some of the present-day Iranian-Azerbaijani cities. (Collection R. Galichian, London)



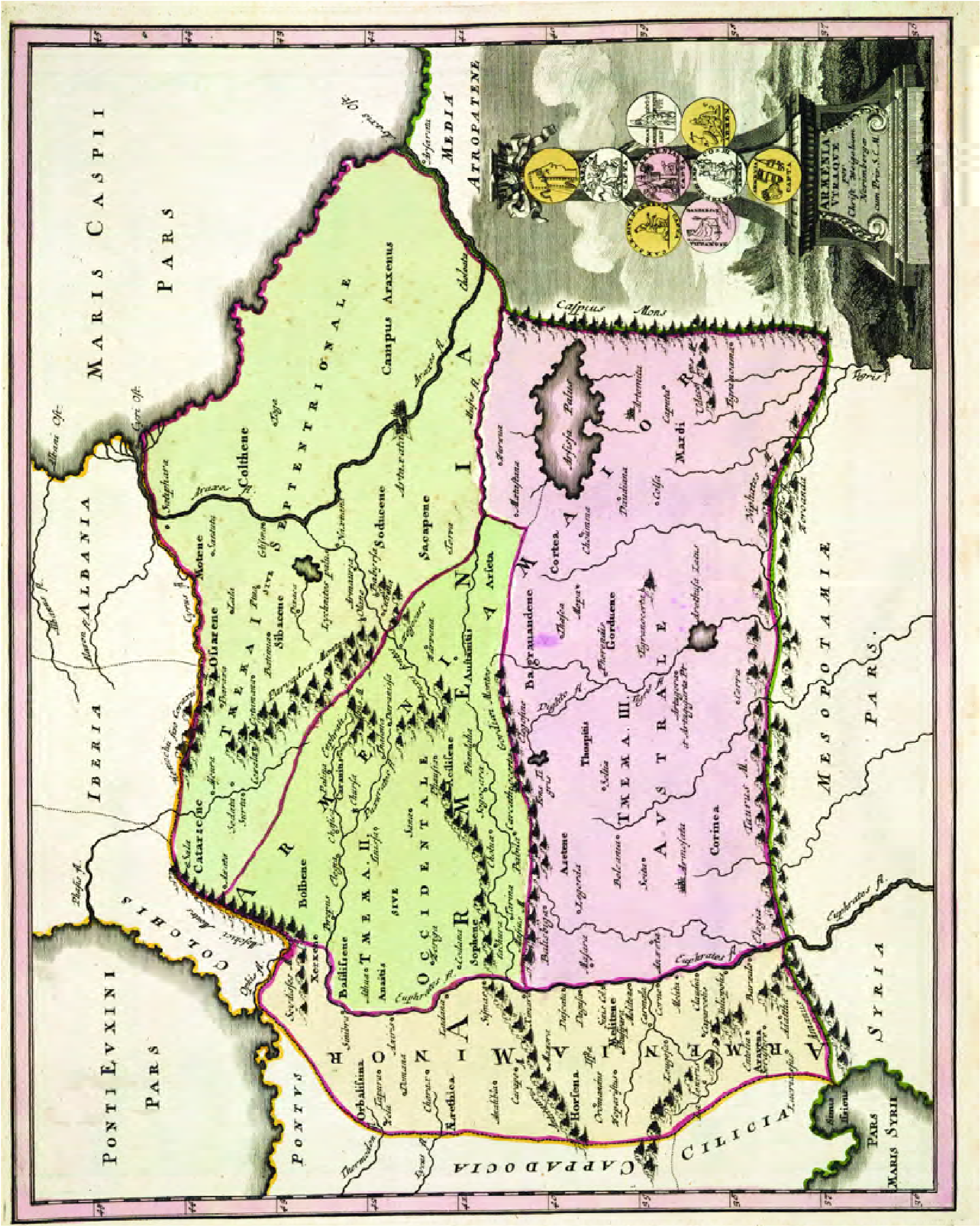


Fig. 35: Kohler's Travel and School Atlas of 1718 includes maps of the ancient world. Here is the map of Armenia from the same atlas drawn by Weighel, where we see Armenia Maior with its divisions, and Armenia Minor. Albania is shown north of Armenia and Iranian province of Azerbaijan, with its old name Media-Atropatene is to its east. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

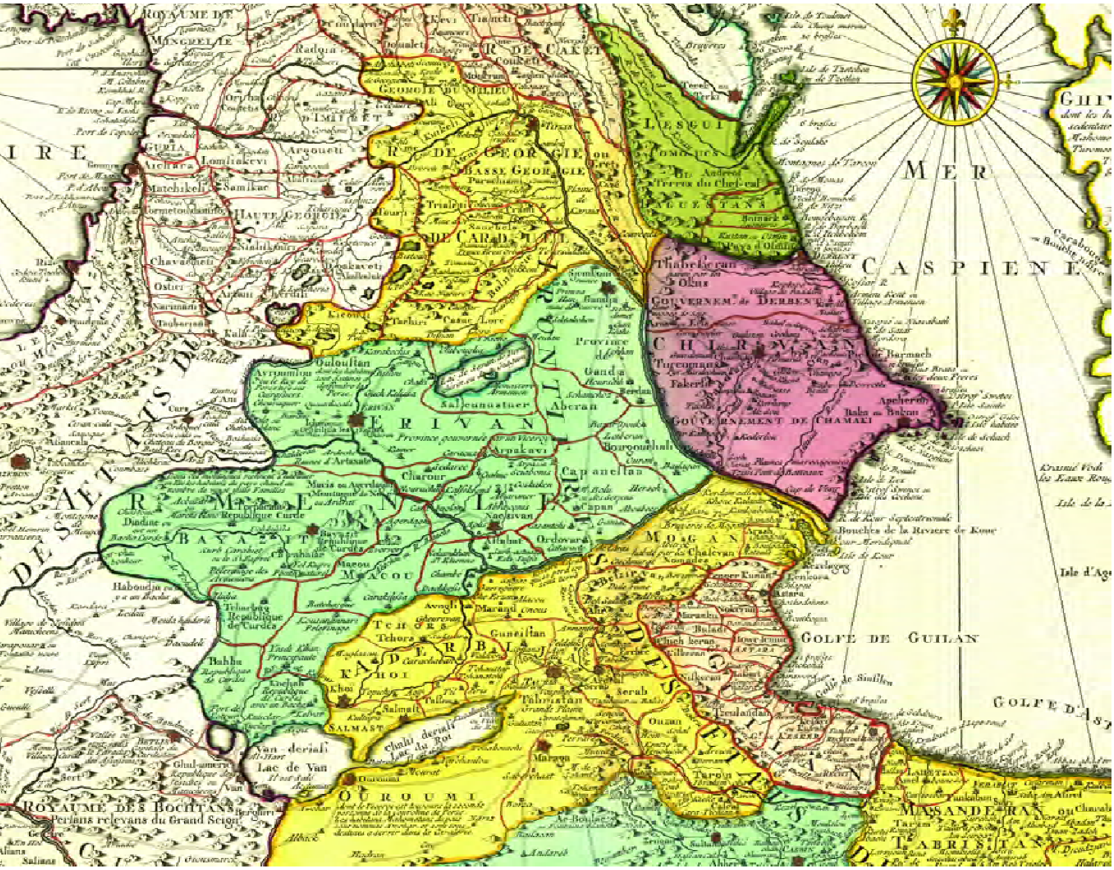


Fig. 36: 'The Caspian Sea', prepared by De-Lisle in 1730, shows the political situation of the time in the region between the Black and Caspian Seas. In this detail of the map the countries of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the region that was once Albania are shown. Azerbaijan is shown to be the north-eastern province of Iran, south to the River Arax while in place of Albania in the north of the river we see the Persian khanates of Derbent (Derbend), Thabesseran (Tabasaran) and Shamakhi, all under Iranian dominion, which jointly are named Chirvan (Shirvan). Armenia is shown prominently on the map, occupying the area from Western Armenia to Kapan. (Collection R. Galichian, London)



Fig. 37: Section from the map prepared by Johann Battista Homann in 1748, depicting the area of the South Caucasus. Armenia is in the centre of the map, straddling the banks of the River Arax, south of which is Iranian Azerbaijan, marked 'Adherbeizan'. Georgia and Shirwan are north of Armenia and to its north are Lesgi and Daghestan. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

Fig. 38: The region of the South Caucasus and Middle East from the Map of the Ancient Monarchies drawn by M. Robert in 1779, France. Armenia in the centre is surrounded by Medie-Atropatene (Iranian Azerbaijan) in the east, Albania in north-east, Iberia in the north, Mesopotamia in the south and Lesser Armenia in the west. (Collection R. Galichian, London)



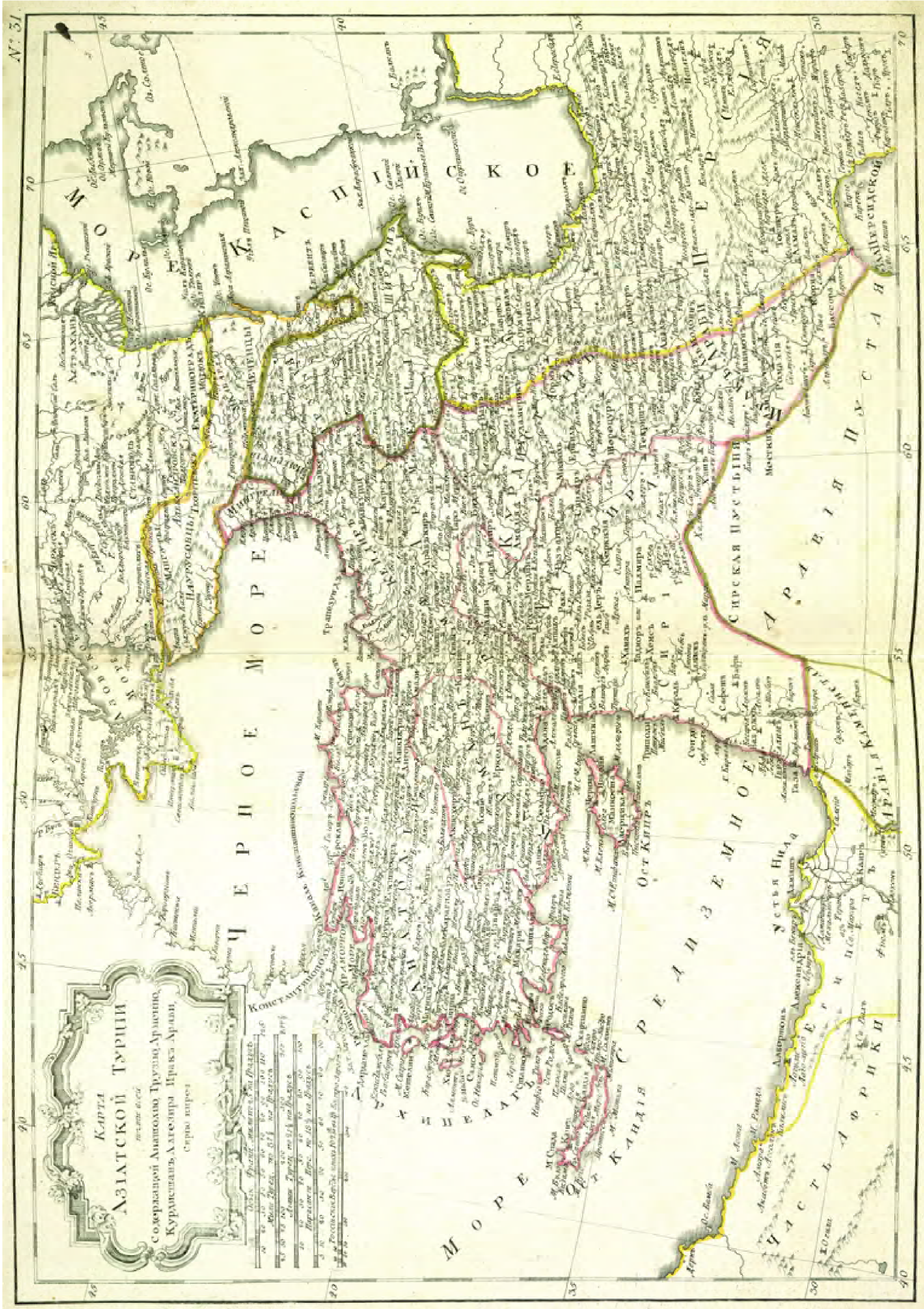


Fig. 39: Map dated 1793 of Asiatic Turkey from a Russian atlas. It shows Armenia, Iranian Azerbaijan south of the River Arax and Shirwan to its north, where ancient Albania used to be situated. (Collection R. Galichian, London)



Fig. 40: German military map prepared by Marshal von Biberstein in 1800, showing the region between the Rivers Kura and Terek. The area includes Shirwan and Daghestan. The towns mentioned in the regiion are Baku, Derbent, Schamachie and Kuba which are all located in a province named Schirwan, under Iranian dominion. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

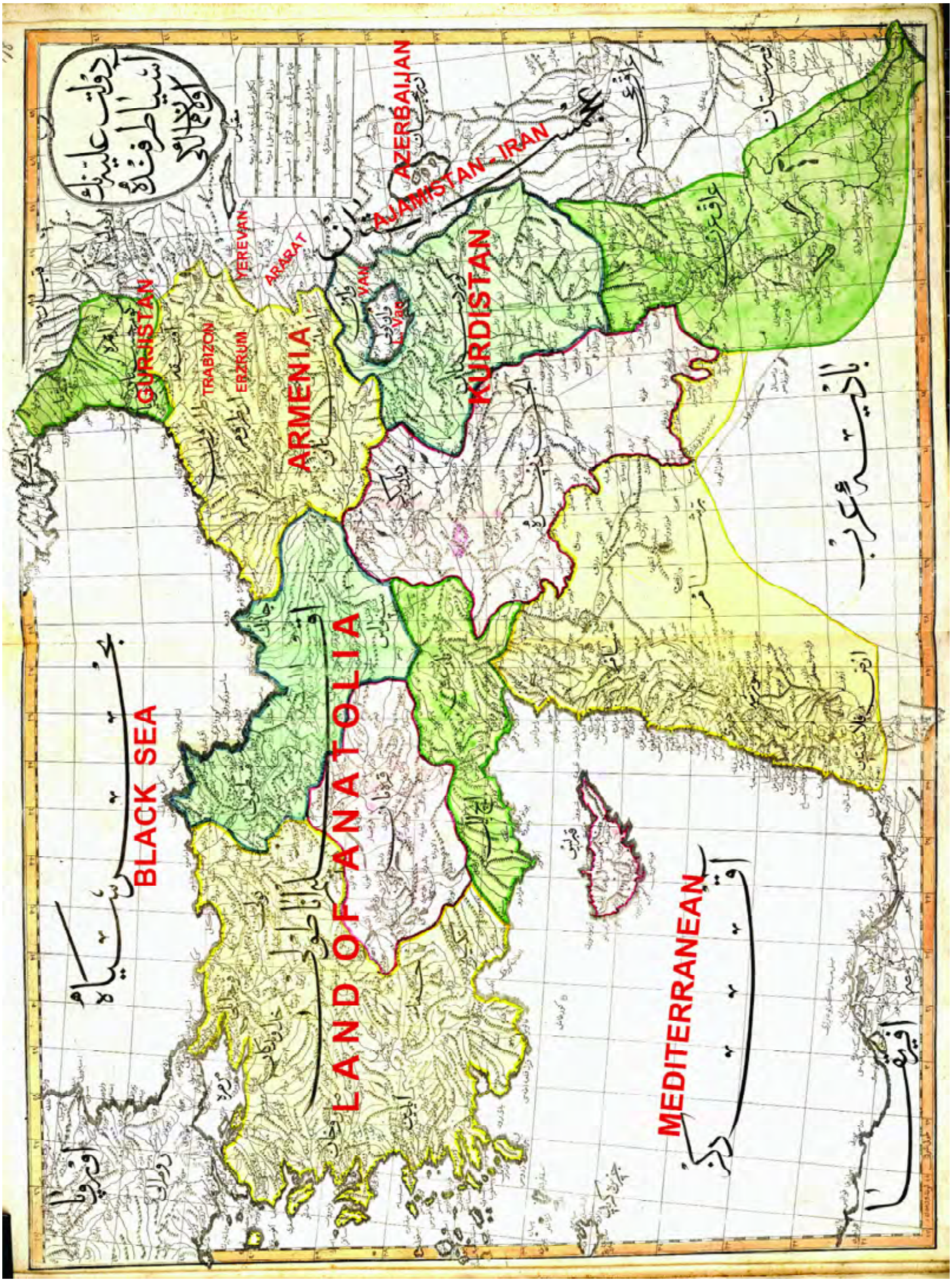


Fig. 41: This Ottoman map of 1803-4 shows the Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire. The region of Van and Erzrum is named Armenia. Azerbaijan is shown as a province of Iran and south of the River Arax.

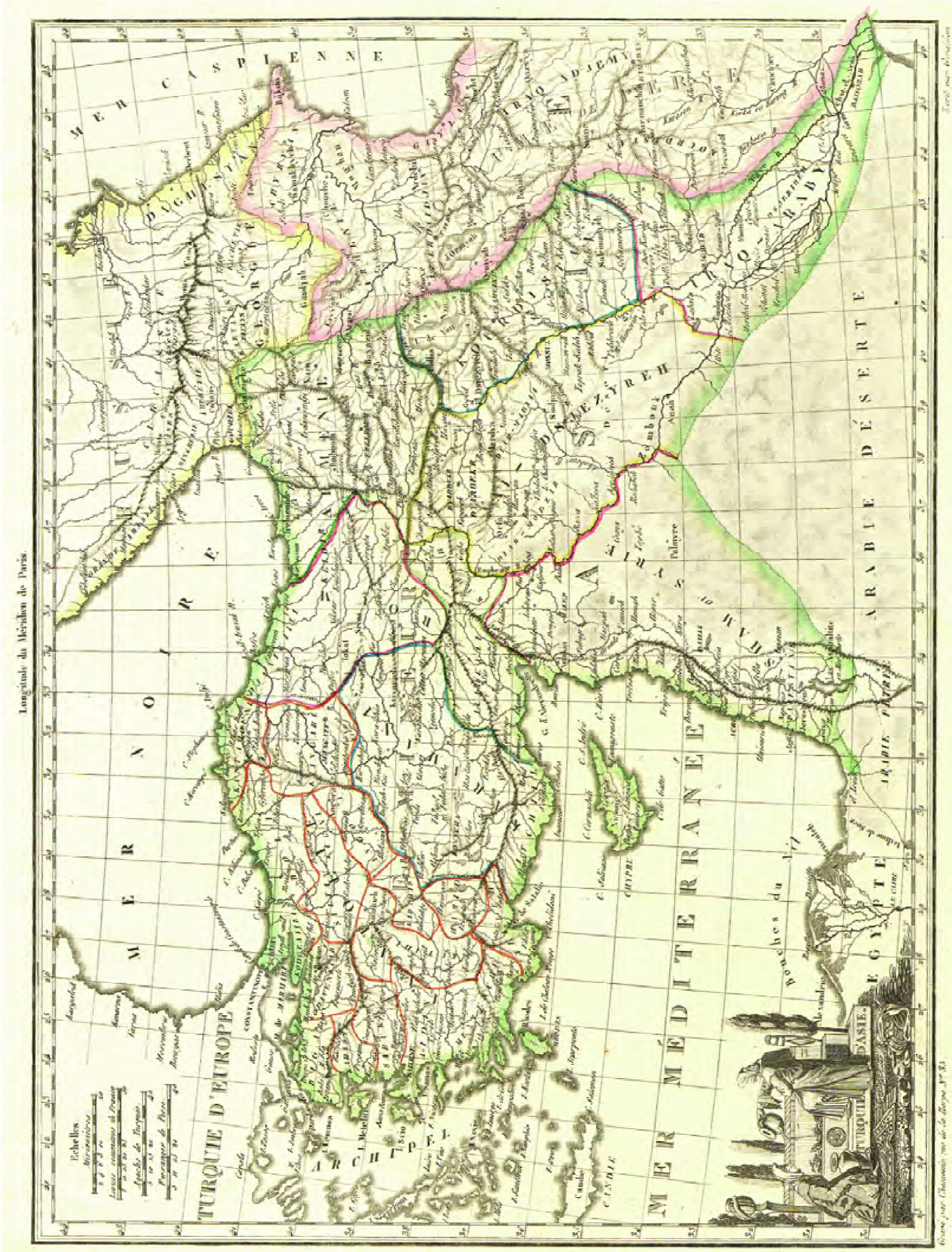


Fig. 42: Malte-Brun's map of Asia Minor, 1812, Paris. It includes Armenia, Azerbaijan south of the River Arax, while to its north the towns of Scheki, Nouche, Chamakhyeh and Bakou are placed in the region named Chyrvan, which are in the territory of ancient Albania and now under Persian rule. (Collection R. Galichian', London)



Fig. 43: The German cartographer von Spruner's Atlas Antiquus was published in 1885, and includes this map entitled 'Armenia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia et Assyria'. To the south-east of Armenia there is the country of Atropatene-Media as a province of Iran. Albania is to Armenia's north-east, on the northern banks of Kura. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

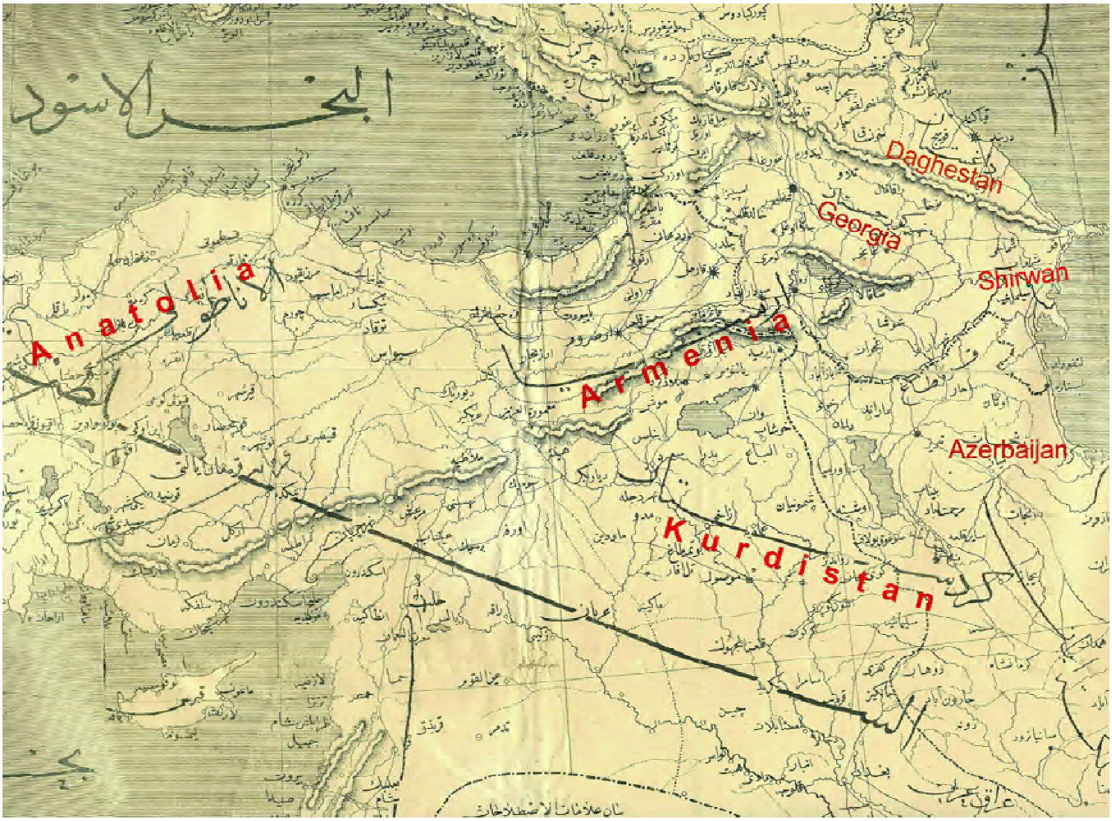


Fig. 44: Here is part of an Ottoman War Map published in 1877, where the region extending from Lake Sevan to Arax and Erzinjan bears the legend 'Ermenistan – Armenia'. Shirwan is the name given to the region north of the River Kura, which includes Bakou, Shamakhi and other cities. Daghestan and the city of Derbend are to the north of Shirwan. In the north of Iran the region of Karadagh can be seen placed inside the province named Azerenjan (Azerbaijan). This is one of the last few Ottoman maps that include the name Armenia on the territory once occupied by this ancient country, now mainly occupied by Turkey. On this the region now named Republic of Azerbaijan is represented by Shirwan and Daghestan. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

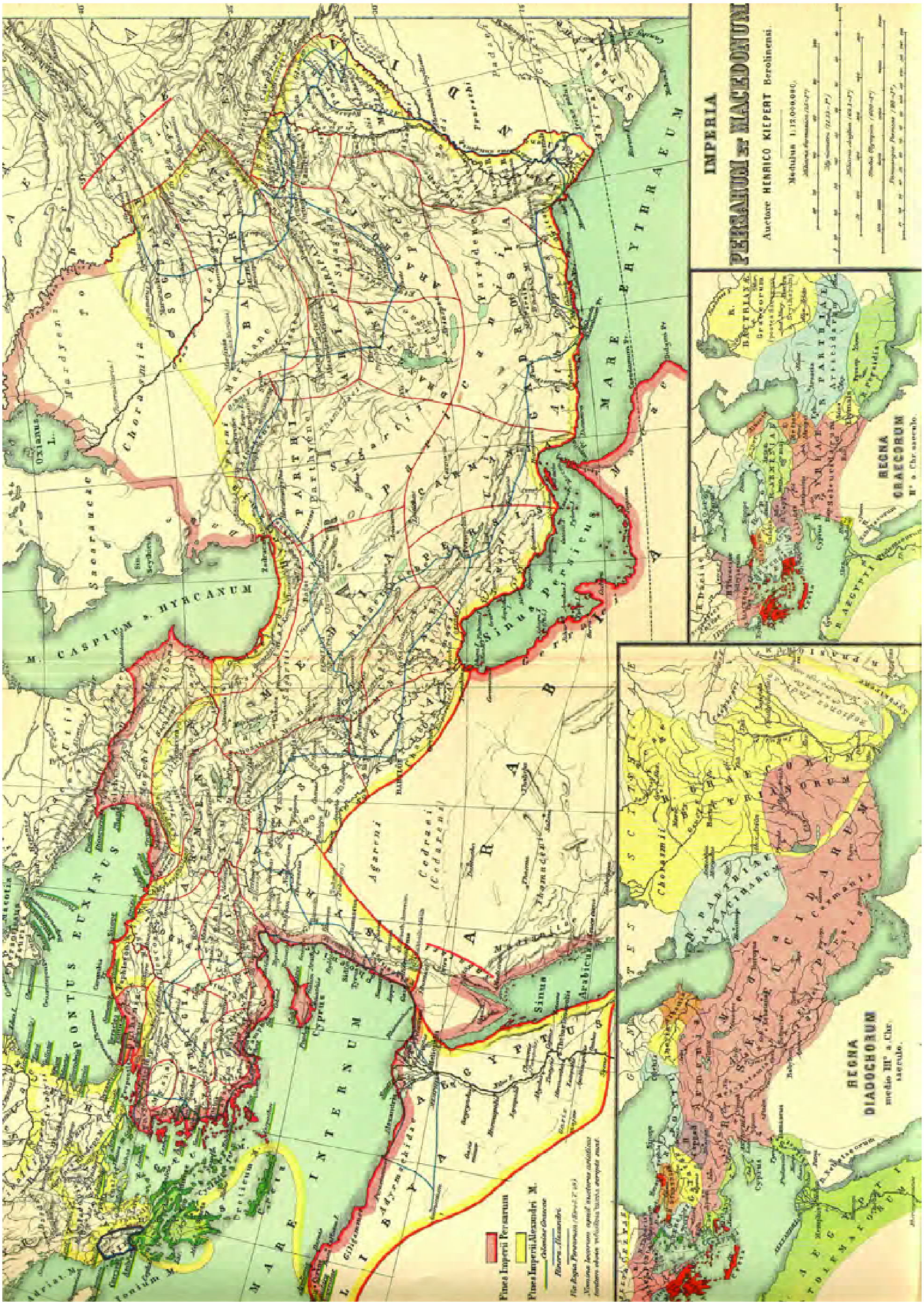


Fig. 45: Kiepert's map of 1880 depicts the lands conquered by Alexander the Great. Armenia, Albania and Media are inclluded, while the name Atropatene is absent as it was not yet given to Lesser Media. (Collection R. Galichian, London)

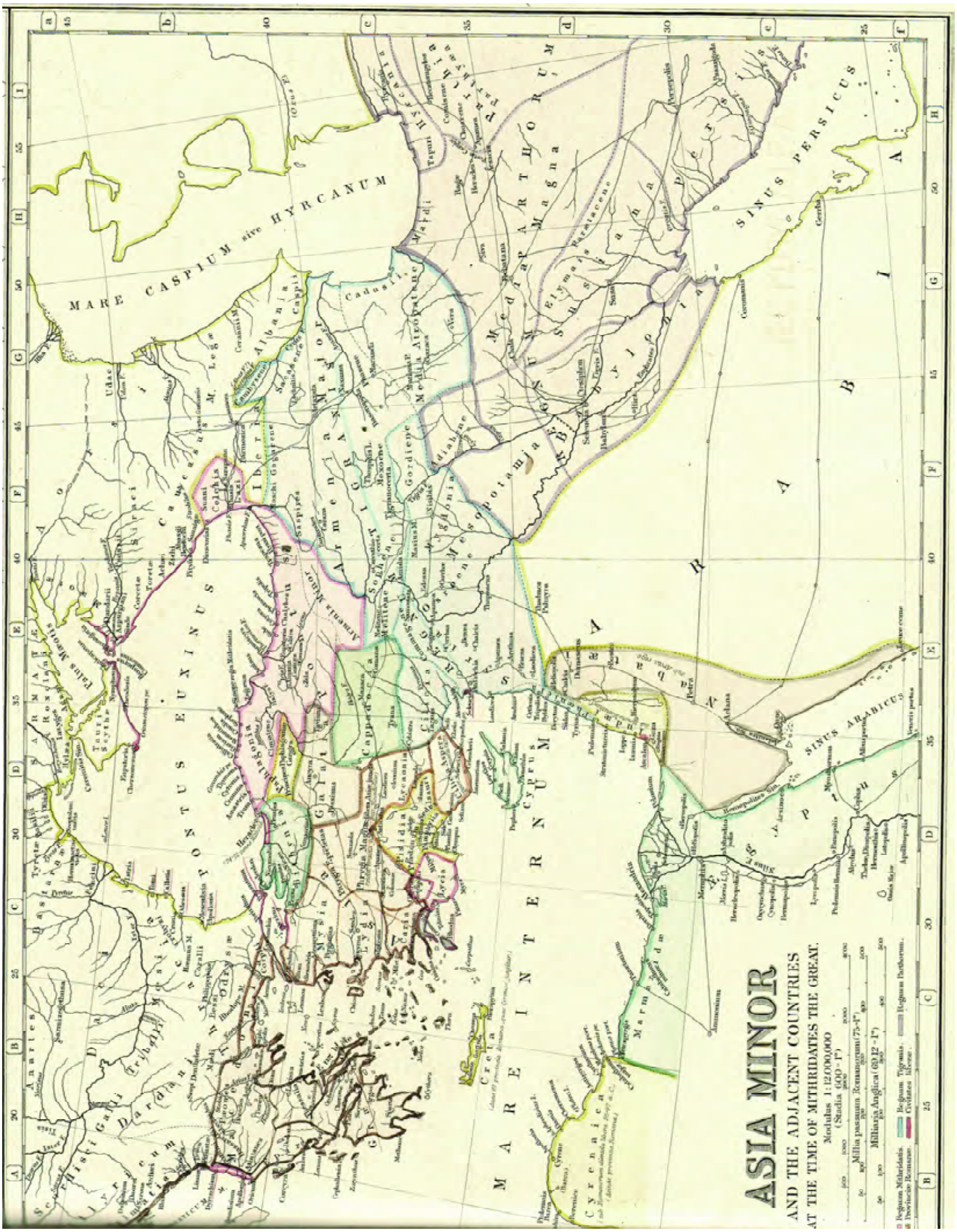


Fig. 46: Charles Muller's map of the ancient world shows the situation during the reign of Mithridates the VI (Great), king of Pontus and his son-in-law Tigranes the Great of Armenia. It includes Armenia at its peak, Albania and Media-Atropatene, which was then conquered by Tigranes.

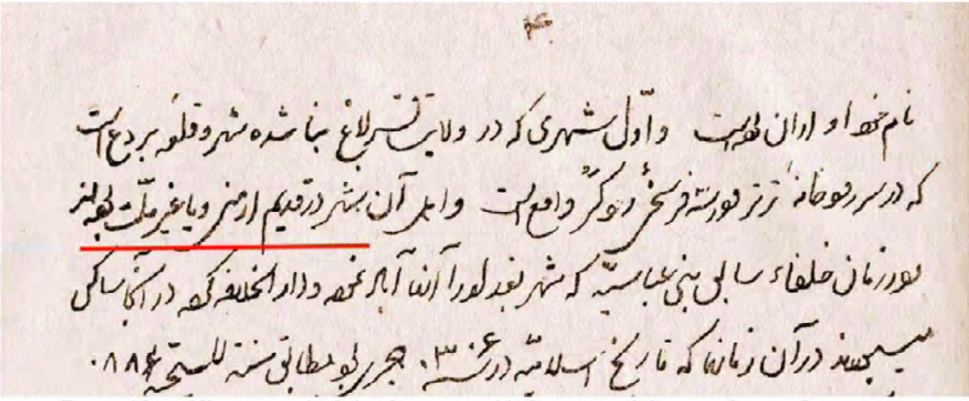
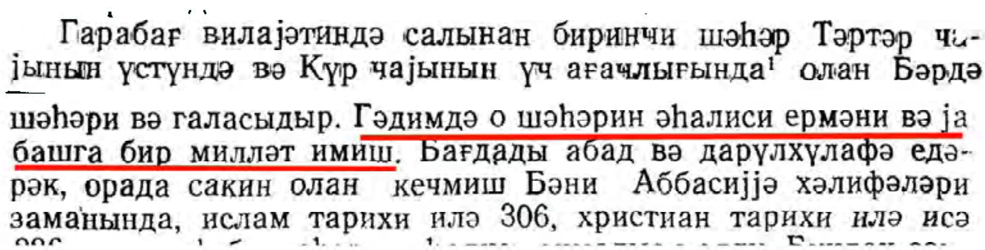
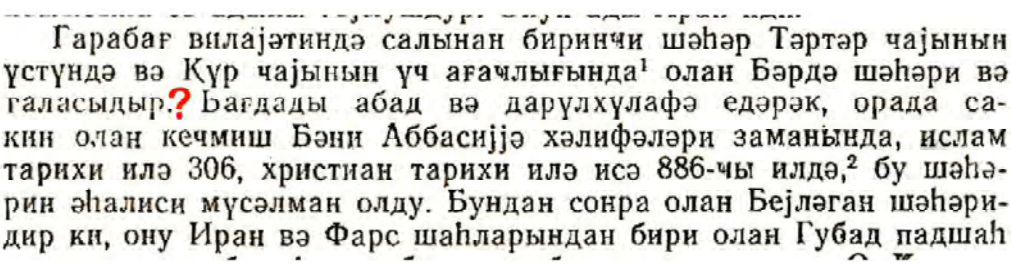


Fig. 47a: A section from Mirza Javanshir Qarabaghi's manuscript History of Karabagh. The original is reprinted in Akhundov's translation of 1959 to Cyrillic-Turkish. The underlined sentence states: 'This old city's [Barda'a] population consisted of Armenians and other nations.'



Гарабағ вилајәтиндә салынан биринчи шәһәр Тәртәр чајынын үстүндә вә Күр чајынын үч ағачлығында[1] олан Бәрдә шәһәри вә галасыдыр. Гәдимдә о шәһәрин әһалиси ермәни вә ја башга бир милләт имиш. Бағдады абад вә дарүлхүлафә едәрәк, орада сакин олан кечмиш Бәни Аббасијјә хәлифәләри заманында, ислам тарихи илә 306, христиан тарихи илә исә

Fig. 47b: In the same book the Azerbaijani-Turkish translation of this sentence is executed fully and correctly (underlined red).



Гарабағ вилајәтиндә салынан биринчи шәһәр Тәртәр чајынын үстүндә вә Күр чајынын үч ағачлығында[1] олан Бәрдә шәһәри вә галасыдыр.? Бағдады абад вә дарүлхүлафә едәрәк, орада сакин олан кечмиш Бәни Аббасијјә хәлифәләри заманында, ислам тарихи илә 306, христиан тарихи илә исә 886-чы илдә,[2] бу шәһәрин әһалиси мүсәлман олду. Бундан сонра олан Бејләган шәһәридир ки, ону Иран вә Фарс шаһларындан бири олан Губад падшаһ

Fig. 47c: In the 1989 edition of the same book Akhundov has made 'corrections', such as taking out the sentence about the Armenian population of Barda'a, underlined red in Figs. 47a and 47b. The position of this deletion is indicated in the passage by a question mark.

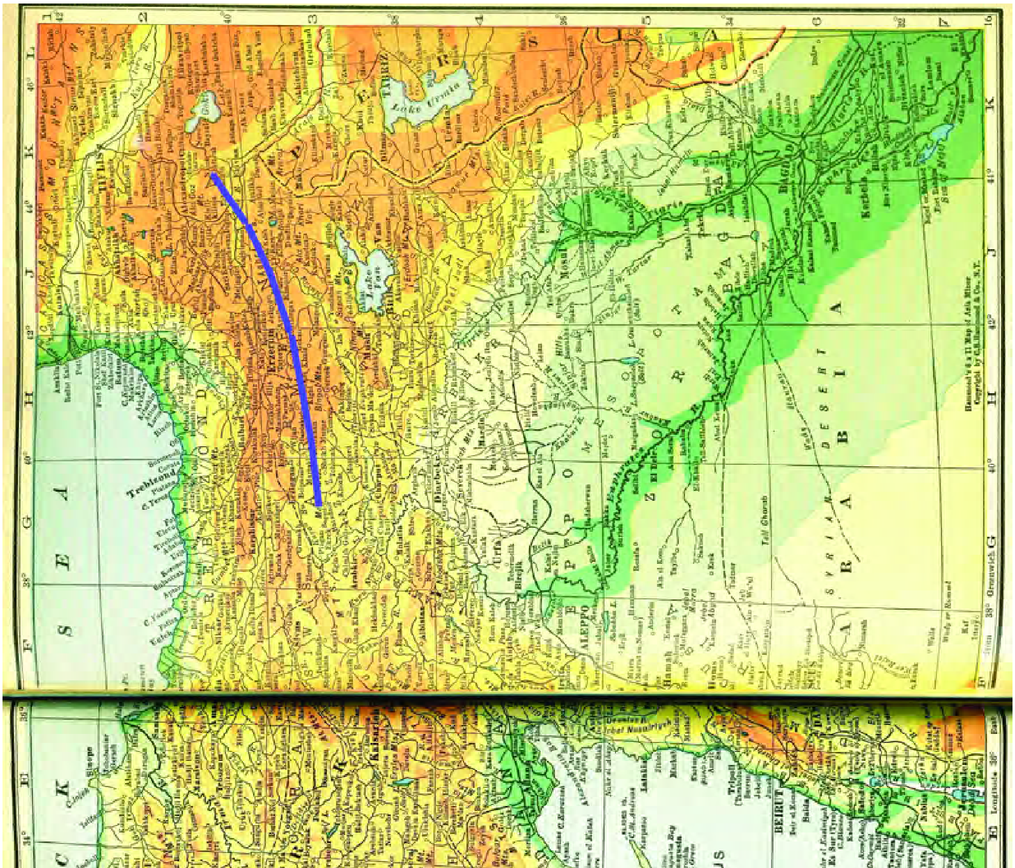


Fig. 48: Map of Asia Minor published in the USA in 1925. The legend ‘Armenia’ is written over the territory of Western and Eastern Armenia where the Armenian people lived, underlined in blue. (Collection R. Galichian’, London)

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Rouben Galichian was born in Tabriz, Iran, to a family of immigrant Armenians who fled Van in 1915 to escape the Genocide, arriving in Iran via Armenia, Georgia and France. After attending school in Tehran, Rouben received a scholarship to study in the UK and graduated with a degree in Engineering from the University of Aston, Birmingham, in 1963. His books include *Historic Maps of Armenia: The Cartographic Heritage* (2004, plus expanded version in English, Russian and Armenian, 2005), *Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps: Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan* (2007), and *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Showcasing of Imaginations* (2009/2010), which documents the culture and history of Nagorno-Karabakh through the centuries. For his services to Armenian historical cartography, Rouben was awarded in 2008 an Honorary Doctorate by the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. In 2009 he was the recipient of Armenia's Vazgen I Cultural Achievements Medal. He is married and shares his time between London and Yerevan.

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Rewriting history and redrawing boundaries are ancient political strategies for shaping national identity, nation-building and establishing territorial claims. Ethnicity and cultural heritage are especially powerful symbols, and therefore targets, for territorial claims – a process exemplified by the Republic of Azerbaijan's state-sponsored invention of its own national identity. As the only former Soviet republic not to be established on an established ethnic group, ever since its creation in 1918 Azerbaijan has used strategies adapted from the USSR and Pan-Turkism movement to create a national mythos at odds with the historical and geographical reality.

This new study examines the motives and methodology employed by Azerbaijani historians and geographers over the past century in officially recreating the history, boundaries and even ethnicity of this historically volatile region. Particular focus is given to Azerbaijan's campaign for the geohistorical appropriation of neighbouring Armenia and Iranian Azerbaijan, a selective campaign that ignores Georgia and Russia's North Caucasus. The evidence of the ancient and later cartographers as well as the Graeco-Roman historians and the accounts of Islamic and European travellers confirm the international position that runs counter to Azerbaijan's claims.

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